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## THE SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1917

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PERHAPS the most remarkable feature of the municipal elections of last November was the large vote polled by the Socialist party. Hitherto American socialism had found a strong foothold in but a few municipalities. Schnectady, Hamilton, Ohio, Milwaukee, and recently Minneapolis, were the only cities where the Socialist vote could be said to be of serious importance. Indeed, contrary to general opinion, the greatest relative strength of the Socialist party has been in agrarian and mining states rather than in urban and manufacturing states. Oklahoma, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, and Washington have been the strongholds of the party while New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts have been in the lower half.<sup>1</sup> The municipal elections of 1917 show a remarkable gain in the urban districts of the east and middle

<sup>1</sup> The relative ranking of the states as regards the Socialist strength in the presidential elections of 1916, together with the percentage of the total vote polled by the Socialist electors in each state, is as follows: Oklahoma, 15.6, Nevada, 13.1, Florida, 6.6, Wisconsin, 6.2, Idaho, 6.0, Washington, 5.9, Arizona, 5.5, Montana, 5.4, Texas, 5.1, North Dakota, 4.9, Minnesota, 4.8, California, 4.3, Arkansas, 4.2, Kansas, 3.9, Oregon, 3.7, Colorado, 3.4, Indiana, 3.4, Ohio, 3.4, Pennsylvania, 3.3, Utah, 3.1, New Mexico, 3.0, South Dakota, 2.9, Illinois, 2.8, New York, 2.6, Wyoming, 2.6, Michigan, 2.5, Nebraska, 2.5, Connecticut, 2.4, Rhode Island, 2.2, Iowa, 2.1, Massachusetts, 2.1, New Jersey, 2.1, West Virginia, 2.1, Missouri, 1.9, Mississippi, 1.7, Maine, 1.6, Alabama, 1.5, New Hampshire, 1.5, Vermont, 1.2, Maryland, 1.0. The Socialist vote was less than 1 per cent in Delaware, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and North Carolina. The order which the states occupied as regards the percentage of Socialist votes cast was approximately the same in 1912.

west. This gain is all the more remarkable when we consider that the Socialist vote for President declined from approximately 900,000 in 1912 to 590,000 in 1916, a loss of about 45 per cent.

Since the discussion of war policies played such a large part in all these municipal elections, it is worth while to determine just what the declared purpose of the Socialist party has been towards the war and its prosecution. The Socialist party from 1914 on had opposed entrance by the United States into the war. An emergency convention, meeting in April, after war had actually been declared protested against the declaration and pledged the party to "continuous, active, and public opposition to the war through demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power."<sup>2</sup> This was followed on June 10 by a proclamation of the executive committee asking for a referendum on conscription and a clear statement of the country's war aims and purposes. During the summer and fall the People's Council and the Socialist party co-operated in the campaign for a statement of our war aims and for a peace by negotiation.

The attitude of the party was strongly opposed by a group of the "intellectuals." Charles Edward Russell, A. M. Simons, John Spargo, J. G. Phelps-Stokes and others either withdrew or were expelled. The rank and file of the membership, however, increased.

#### CITY ELECTIONS WAGED ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.<sup>3</sup>

Since it was an odd year the municipal elections, with the exception of a few state elections, were the only ones held. They presented the unique spectacle of city elections waged not only on local but on international issues.

It was soon discovered that the Socialist party would command more support than ever before. Consequently the old parties attacked the Socialists on the issue of patriotism, labelling them almost universally as traitors. The Socialists were charged with seeking to bring about a separate peace with Germany. This they denied, asserting that like the Russians they stood for a general and not a separate peace. The campaign for and against socialism was then waged both on the question of the socialization of industry and on the question of the war.

It is the purpose of this article to study the Socialist vote in the various municipal elections and to interpret the results which the election statistics show.

#### I. NEW YORK CITY

Morris Hillquit, the Socialist mayoralty candidate, pledged himself to continue the efficiency methods of Mayor Mitchel and to extend the edu-

<sup>2</sup> See *The American Socialists and the War* edited by Alexander Trachtenberg, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 42.



cational facilities of the city. He strongly urged municipal ownership of public utilities and a general peace. A feature of the campaign played up by Hillquit's opponents was his refusal to subscribe to liberty bonds. His opponents charged him with being unpatriotic and accused him of obstructing the progress of the war.

When the votes were counted it was found that Hillquit had polled 90,000 more votes than Bennet, the Republican candidate, and was within a few thousand of Mitchel's total.<sup>4</sup> The great increase in the Socialist vote over the last election is seen by the following table:

	Socialist Vote	Total Mayoralty Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
1913.....	32,057	624,157	5.1
1917.....	145,895	671,334	21.7

The relative increase in strength was approximately 425 per cent. Nor was the Socialist strength confined to the vote for mayor. That cast for the other candidates was nearly as large. The Socialist candidate for controller and president of the board of aldermen polled 19.6 per cent and 19.4 per cent respectively of the total civilian vote, while Mr. Block polled 19.2 per cent of the city's vote in the election of attorney-general for the state. The Socialists, moreover, elected ten assemblymen—a gain of eight—six aldermen when they had never before elected one, and a municipal court judge for the first time, in the person of Jacob Panken, a well-known labor attorney.

The vote by boroughs for mayor was interesting:

Borough	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Manhattan.....	51,185	244,605	20.9
Bronx.....	30,347	96,716	31.5
Brooklyn.....	49,434	246,124	20.1
Queens.....	13,445	68,585	19.6
Richmond.....	1,484	15,287	9.7

The figures in the last table show an even distribution of strength in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens, a comparatively small vote in little Richmond<sup>5</sup> and a truly extraordinary vote in the Bronx. The Brownsville district in Brooklyn and the East Side in Manhattan were Socialist strongholds. The high percentage in the Bronx is explained by the presence of a large immigrant and poverty-stricken population. Richmond, a borough inhabited by the middle class, would naturally be the least affected by Socialism.

#### THE SOLDIER VOTE IN NEW YORK CITY

Because of the war, many thousand voters were compelled to cast their ballots in camp. These votes were not counted until December 18.

<sup>4</sup> This includes the soldier as well as the civilian vote.

<sup>5</sup> The Socialist vote in Richmond was a big increase, however, over that of 1913.

A comparison of the soldier vote for mayor with that of the civilian population follows:

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per cent Socialist of Total
Civilian vote . . . . .	142,178	642,445	22.1
Soldier vote . . . . .	3,717	28,889	12.9

These figures prove that the strength of the Socialist party was only 60 per cent as great among the soldiers as among the civilian population. The soldiers' vote indeed deprived the Socialists of an assembly seat they would otherwise have possessed and broke an aldermanic tie against them. It should not be overlooked, however, that even in the army the party polled nearly three times as great a percentage of the vote as was cast in the entire city in 1913. On the other hand, 66.39 per cent of the soldiers voted for woman suffrage while only 58.4 per cent of the civilian population favored extending the ballot to women.

The different attitude of the soldiers from that of the civilian population on these two questions may be due either to the fact that they *were* soldiers or to the fact that they were of a younger age group than the population as a whole. It is probable that the first factor was the chief cause for the less support given Hillquit and that the latter was the main reason for the greater support given woman suffrage.

## II. OTHER EASTERN CITIES

In Schenectady, New York, on the other hand, the Socialist vote fell off. Weakened by factional quarrels and the withdrawal of former Mayor Lunn from the party, the vote polled was only 3,257, or 23.0 per cent of the 14,131 votes cast at the election.<sup>6</sup>

Though polling a rather large vote in the Massachusetts gubernatorial election the Socialists failed to make a showing in the Boston mayoralty elections which were held in December. James O'Neal could secure only 345 of the 87,600 votes cast.

In other eastern cities, however, the Socialists had better success. The following table shows a 475 per cent increase in the Socialist vote in Syracuse, New York, since the last municipal election.

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Last municipal election . . .	709	30,831	2.3
1917 municipal election . . .	3,476	32,227	10.8

In the Newark, New Jersey, 1917 municipal elections, the Socialists polled 12 per cent of the 43,000 votes cast,—a noticeable increase over their former record. In Rochester, New York, they secured over 8,000 votes though the election was lost. Rahway, New Jersey, showed a large

<sup>6</sup> In 1915 the Socialist vote was 6,069 out of a total of 15,429, or 39.3 per cent of the whole. An extended account of Mayor Lunn's administration in Schenectady was published in the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* of December 30, 1917.



poll, while Allentown, Pennsylvania, elected a Socialist member of the city council with a vote of over 4,000.

In Buffalo, New York, where the so-called "non-partisan primary" is used, all but the two candidates receiving the highest vote at that time are eliminated from the final ballot. Though the Socialist candidate did not qualify in the October primaries, he polled a very large vote, failing of second place by only a few hundred ballots. The vote in the 1917 primaries is compared below with that of the last general election.

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Last election . . . . .	10,906	78,723	13.9
1917 primaries . . . . .	14,328	56,510	25.4

This shows an increase in the Socialist vote of approximately 85 per cent.<sup>7</sup>

In Reading, Pennsylvania, the Republicans and Democrats joined forces and ran a joint ticket against the four Socialist candidates for councilman. The vote for the highest candidate on each side follows:

	Vote	Per Cent of Total
McConnell, non-partisan . .	10,403	67.4
Strump, Socialist . . . . .	5,031	32.6

### III. CHICAGO

The election in Chicago was not for mayor, but for county judges. Here the Republicans and Democrats combined against the Socialists. Since there were eight judges to be elected each of the old parties nominated four candidates. The election of these judges was in itself of little significance, but the campaign was one of the bitterest ever waged in Chicago. The Socialists were charged with being pro-German and were labelled as traitors. The daily press published lurid cartoons representing them as minions of the Kaiser and every effort was made to inflame the popular mind against them. The Socialist candidates urged that the national government take steps to effect a general peace, protesting against the suppression of many newspapers by Postmaster General Burleson and the action of Governor Lowden in attempting to prohibit a meeting of the people's council in Chicago.

Though early press reports were circulated to show that the Socialists had been "snowed under" and "disastrously defeated," the election returns point to an impressive gain over the last election:

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Mayoralty election (1915) . .	24,452	679,025	3.6
Judicial election (1917) . . .	72,504	214,557 <sup>8</sup>	33.8

<sup>7</sup> The Socialist candidates for city court judge polled approximately 16 per cent of the vote. A Socialist supervisor was nearly elected from the nineteenth ward.

<sup>8</sup> Women cannot vote for the judiciary in Illinois. Had they voted in this election the relative strength of the Socialist vote would probably have been lessened, for a smaller percentage of women vote the Socialist ticket than men.

Thus the relative strength of the party increased over ninefold. Indeed, in five wards, the Socialists polled a majority of the votes cast.

#### IV. OHIO CITIES<sup>9</sup>

In Cleveland, where the preferential voting plan is in operation, the Socialist candidate for mayor was C. E. Ruthenberg, who had been arrested earlier in the summer on the charge of inciting others to resist the draft. In spite of this fact the election returns showed an increase in the Socialist strength of nearly 350 per cent over the last municipal election:

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
1915 municipal election . . .	6,014	105,939	5.7
1917 municipal election . . .	21,378	110,674	19.3

The Socialist mayoralty candidate in 1915 polled approximately 4,700 second-choice votes, while in 1917 4,625 second-choice votes were secured.<sup>10</sup> The movement towards the Socialist party was, then, a sudden shift of political allegiance rather than the result of a gradual drift. Incidental results were the election of two Socialist councilmen, and of one Socialist to the board of education.

Cincinnati showed a Socialist gain over the last election of approximately 400 per cent.

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
Municipal election (1915) . .	2,716	95,127	2.9
Municipal election (1917) . .	11,197	94,153	11.9

In Toledo, where the municipal elections are non-partisan, the three highest candidates in the primaries are selected as the candidates for the election proper. In 1915 the Socialist candidate, though polling about 2,800 votes, did not qualify. In 1917 the Socialist candidate ran third in the primaries. The candidate who ran second died between the primaries and the regular election. Since no provision existed in the city charter to meet the emergency, there were only two candidates for mayor: Haworth, the Socialist and Schreiber, the non-Socialist. Scott Nearing, late dean of Toledo University, threw his influence in behalf of the Socialist ticket, while Charles Edward Russell visited the city to attack the party which he had left but a few months before. The result follows:

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per Cent Socialist of Total
1917 Election . . . . .	14,903	42,786	34.8

Three members of the Toledo city council were also elected by the Socialists.

<sup>9</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 39.—EDITOR.

<sup>10</sup> The Socialists secured 17 per cent of the total number of second-choice votes cast.



Dayton, the home of the commission-manager plan, witnessed one of the bitterest political contests in the country.<sup>11</sup> In the primary election of August 19, 1917, the three Socialist and the three citizens' candidates for commissioner qualified. The Socialist vote at the primaries indeed equalled the combined citizens' and Democratic votes. A vigorous campaign was immediately organized against the Socialists. Governor James M. Cox, the Democratic leader, helped to direct the campaign of the citizens' committee which issued literature illustrated by two cuts, one of a red flag, labelled "The Flag of Danger," and the other, the American flag, labelled, "The Flag of Democracy." The whole was headed by the caption, "Under which Flag do You Want to Live?" The Socialists derived their strength not only from the disapproval of the war by certain sections, but also from the feeling that the commission form of government had represented business interests almost exclusively in the past. It was generally understood that if the Socialists were elected City Manager Waite would be discharged.

Although the Socialists lost by about 4,000 votes they polled an extraordinary percentage of the total.

Highest Socialist Candidate	Highest Citizens' Candidate	Per Cent of Total
13,504	17,095	44.1

In 1913 the Socialists in Hamilton had elected a mayor. In 1915 the two old parties combined against them and though the Socialists polled more votes than in the previous election they lost the election. The coalition of Republicans and Democrats continued in the 1917 election when the Socialists again lost, though they polled over 40 per cent of the total vote. In Sandusky the Socialists elected a city commissioner with a vote of over 1,400. In Massillon the Socialist candidate for mayor ran second, polling approximately 30 per cent of the total vote, while the Socialists in Springfield polled over 25 per cent of the votes cast.

Two small cities, Piqua (pop. 13,300) and Byesville (pop. 3,100) went so far as to elect Socialist mayors.

#### V. INDIANA CITIES

In Evansville where the Socialist strength has been noticeable of late years, the last elections witnessed a further increase.

	Socialist Vote	Total Vote	Per cent Socialist of Total
Municipal election (1913) . .	2,304	15,101	15.3
Municipal election (1917) . .	2,514	14,560	17.3

In Anderson the Socialists polled 1,825 votes, or 29.1 per cent of the 6,261 votes cast. In Marion they polled more votes than did the Democrats, their 1,539 votes amounting to 30.8 per cent of the total vote of

<sup>11</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 36.—EDITOR.

5,077. Though the Republicans won in Elkhart, the Socialists received as large a vote as the Democrats and elected two councilmen. A Socialist alderman was elected in Fort Wayne, while two small Indiana cities elected Socialist mayors: Gas City (pop. 3,200) and Ellwood (pop. 11,000).

In Indianapolis and Gary, on the other hand, the Socialist sentiment was slight. Only 6.2 per cent of the 7,600 votes cast at Gary were for the Socialist candidates while but 4 per cent of the 52,000 votes in Indianapolis were polled by them.

#### VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The returns from these cities east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio indicate clearly that the Socialist party far from suffering a "crushing defeat," as many newspapers stated, really made great gains in the last election. The fifteen cities<sup>12</sup> from which we have been able to derive accurate election statistics show that out of the total vote of 1,450,000 the Socialists polled 314,000 or 21.6 per cent of the whole. This is over four times the proportion of the vote usually polled by the Socialist candidates in these cities. Had the Socialists polled an equal proportion in the presidential election of 1916, their total vote would have been approximately 4,000,000.

This sudden gain is due probably to several causes: (1) Opposition to the war. This was undoubtedly the chief reason. Everywhere the Socialists pushed their demand for a general peace and it was largely upon this issue that the campaign was waged. (2) Resentment at the action of Postmaster General Burleson in suppressing many radical papers. Large numbers of men, who were not Socialists, felt that the post-office department had infringed unnecessarily upon the freedom of the press.<sup>13</sup> (3) Economic pressure caused by rising prices. During the past three years the cost of living has increased approximately forty per cent. As wages in most trades have not begun to keep pace, real wages have decreased. A decline in real wages inevitably engenders discontent—the present is no exception.

Along with this increase of the Socialist vote went a tendency on the part of the two old parties by merging forces to present a united front against the Socialists. When the Socialists elected mayors in Schnectady and Milwaukee and Hamilton the Democrats and Republicans united in opposition. That this will be the practice whenever the Socialists become dangerous seems to be borne out by the experience of the last election. In Reading and in Blairsville, Pennsylvania, in Dayton, and in Chicago, there were only two parties, the Republicans and Democrats forming one, the Socialists the other. Indeed, after the Chicago judicial elections,

<sup>12</sup> New York City, Buffalo, Reading, Boston, Syracuse, Chicago, Dayton, Toledo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Evansville, Marion, Gary, Indianapolis, Anderson.

<sup>13</sup> Prominent among these was Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York.



Roger Sullivan, the Democratic leader of Illinois, advocated the permanent union of the two old parties to prevent the Socialists from electing men to office in the future.

Whether this gain will be permanent or whether it may be considered merely an expression of evanescent discontent which will vanish with the coming of peace, is of course impossible to determine. Only the future can tell. Whatever the future may be, the elections of last fall indicate that for the present at least (in the words of the *New York Post*) "The Socialists have won admission, as it were, to the family of political parties."<sup>14</sup>

## WOODEN CITIES: THE NATIONAL ARMY CANTONMENTS

### AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE VALUE OF THINKING BEFORE ACTING

BY JOHN IHLDER<sup>1</sup>

*Philadelphia*

NOW that the United States, like the allied nations of Europe, has entered the second phase of its war preparations, legislative criticism of administrative accomplishments, every statement is likely to be controverted by the next day's news. Yet up to the date of writing there has been no serious criticism of the layout of the sixteen wooden cities or cantonments built for the national army or of the barrack buildings themselves. Congressional committees have discovered lacks in clothing and equipment for the men and in hospital arrangement and management. In the southern camps of the national guard which, it is understood, were designed for very brief occupancy, and where the men sleep in tents, criticism has gone much further. In these the morbidity and mortality rates have been much higher than in the wooden cantonments of the north, despite the severity of the northern winter.

It is, of course, impossible at present to learn all the factors that may account for the difference. There seems to be a general conviction on the part of those in position to know that overcrowding and lack of ventilation were important factors that contributed to the spread of such diseases as measles, pneumonia and spinal meningitis which have exacted the heaviest tolls. In Camp Bowie, for instance, where the men are sheltered in tents, twelve to a tent when there should have been only five or six, 8,000 were sent to the hospitals. Twelve men to a tent means approximately twenty square feet of floor space per man, scarcely enough for them to lie quietly side by side.

<sup>14</sup> *New York Post*, November 9, 1917, p. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Secretary, Philadelphia Housing Association.

## CAUSES OF DEATH

Indicative of the causes of death are the percentages for the period from September 21, 1917, to January 18, 1918. All troops, 8.2; regulars, 4.71; national guard, 10.04; national army, 8.53. The official comment on this is that regular troops know best how to take care of themselves, but in this instance such a statement probably covers the case only partially as some of the regulars have been housed in permanent barracks and others in wooden barracks. Fairer is comparison between the national guard and the national army. There, other things being equal, the supposition would be that the guard would make the better showing, for not only should their previous training both at the state camps and on the Mexican border, have taught them how to take care of themselves, but they may well be considered a more carefully selected group than the drafted men. Of course, the high pressure recruiting just before the guard went into camp neutralizes this to some extent, but by no means entirely.

So, to the best of our present knowledge and belief, the odds were in favor of the guard, except that the national army was put into cantonments where the water supply and the sewer system were in accordance with modern sanitary standards, and into buildings where ventilation had been carefully provided for. There was some over-crowding in these buildings, especially at first, but in the early fall there was no temptation to close the windows and when colder weather brought the temptation strict orders prevented any general yielding to it. But the crowded tents were closed.

Two years or so ago when a well known American declared that in case of need a million of his countrymen would spring to arms over night neither he nor the rest of us realized all that such a "springing" would involve. We have learned since. "A million men" does not sound as large as it did then. We have now called out two million and propose to call out millions more. But the task of equipping, feeding and housing them has assumed proportions we did not dream of. The housing alone, the building of the sixteen wooden cities, has been an enterprise that already has lessons for us.

## AMERICA'S UNPREPAREDNESS

America entered the war last April unprepared. It was unprepared not only in that it had no large army of trained soldiers and no equipment for such an army; but it was unprepared because of its traditional military policy or lack of policy, and above all because of its vast ignorance about itself.

The raw materials for a nation in arms we had in as great, in some respects, greater quantities than any other nation. Moreover during the



past three years we have been manufacturing munitions for export on such a scale that in arms, powder and shell we were in a better position to take the field at once than our history would give us any reason to hope for. But we had an ingrained habit of talking and thinking in a large, vague way; an impatience with the slow processes of getting facts and setting them in their proper relationship to one another. We were the richest nation in the world; one of the most populous. Since the early days of the republic we had exploited, on an ever expanding scale, natural resources whose limits we were only beginning to see. And to exploit them we had used wastefully human resources that seemed equally limitless, for did not the immigrant swarm from the old world grow with every demand made upon it? We were, in stock market phrase, "bulls" on America. And so generous was the margin allowed us by Providence that nine times out of ten we could "guess" and get away with it.

Then we entered the war and for the first time since the Revolution we had to utilize suddenly our resources to the full and the margin for wrong guesses and for blunders vanished. We needed to know just what we could do in a thousand different ways, and how exerting ourselves to the full in one way would affect our strength in another. But we did not have the facts. Such belated efforts as the more or less volunteer census of manufactories may have been of some value, but events prove their general futility. We did not know our manufacturing ability; we did not know the capacity of our railroads; we did not know the facts about coal or lumber. So we plunged into the war on a gigantic scale; drafted a great army; laid out a great program of shipbuilding; experimented to get the best rifles, machine guns and airplane motors.

For a while these tremendous undertakings and searches for "the best" satisfied us. They were in line with our traditional yearnings for superlatives. We never doubted our ability to put them through—we don't yet. We shall put them through. But meanwhile, let us hope, we shall learn a lesson. For the first time we have no margin by which blunders and bad guesses can be taken up. Definite knowledge of facts would be worth, not millions of dollars, but that for which we are throwing away millions of dollars, time, plus enthusiasm, certainly of action, strength. We have rushed into this enterprise never doubting that our resources would be adequate to every unconsidered demand made upon them. And now, ten months later, we find that they are not, that we must count and consider.

#### BUILDING WOODEN CITIES

Because in the building of the sixteen national army cantonments we did to some extent count and consider, they are worthy of our thought at this time when we are so much exercised over the building of ship yards—an enterprise started at the same time.

Two days after the cantonment division of the quartermaster's corps had been created by the secretary of war, Frederick Law Olmsted, president of the American City Planning Institute, was appointed a member of the committee on emergency construction of the Council of National Defense. This was a purely advisory body, but Colonel Littell, head of the cantonment division, asked and largely followed its advice in organizing, expanding, and securing personnel for his division. That is, he used the best brains available, brains that had been working for years on problems analogous to those that now confronted him.

These problems were of two kinds, planning and construction. True to American tradition we still were most interested in size. Official statements informed us that within sixty days 190 mills in all parts of the country had shipped to the cantonment sites more than 500,000,000 feet of lumber in 24,000 freight cars; that from 5,000 to 10,000 men worked on the construction of each cantonment, that weekly payrolls ran as high as \$150,000, that 93,000 kegs of nails were driven, 140,000 doors hung and 686,000 window sashes placed.

What this sudden great demand for lumber, freight cars, labor, meant to other governmental undertakings, not to mention essential private business, we did not then consider. A few people realized that it meant disturbance, but most of us went on in blind confidence that we could draw on our resources to any figurable extent and still have enough left to continue our ordinary processes.

But despite all this information about size the significant thing about the cantonments—the thing that distinguishes them from the ship yards, for instance—was that they were carefully planned out in detail before construction work began, that even the men who built the camps, the construction gangs, were thought of and provided for.<sup>2</sup> Admittedly, the housing problem there was easier than that of the ship yards, the point is, it was recognized from the beginning and solved while that of the ship yards and munitions plants was not.

Mr. Olmsted immediately summoned by telegraph a corps of city planners, engineers, architects and a housing specialist. They were not to go on the government payroll. They were to give their services at their own expense. They came. Before them was put all available data, the number of troops in a cantonment, the branches of the service—infantry, artillery, signal corps, and all the rest that go to make a "Pershing division" with the number of units in each and the number of men in a unit.

<sup>2</sup> Unexpected delays in completing the cantonments rendered inadequate in some cases and after cold weather began, the quarters provided for construction men.



## PLANS FOR THE UNIT

The first question was the plan of the barrack for the unit. This had not been finished when the size of an infantry company was increased from 150 men to 200. So the plans were redrawn. The problem was to design the most compact, economical, convenient and wholesome building in which to shelter and feed 200 men. The plan decided upon was a two-story wooden structure with mess hall, kitchen, cook's bed-room, store room, commons or instruction room and two dormitories on the ground floor and four dormitories, first sergeant's room and commons on the second floor. Between each pair of dormitories ran a double row of open wooden lockers. Each of the ground floor dormitories provided for thirty-two men in double decker cots, three of the second floor dormitories for thirty-six men and the other for forty.

The cubic air space in these dormitories was inadequate according to accepted standards. The housing specialist argued in vain for an increase in the size of the buildings, he was met by the statement that the appropriation made by congress was inadequate to cover the cost. In those early days we still believed in keeping within appropriations. He did, however, succeed in getting the buildings lengthened ten feet and in having windows placed so close together that practically half the wall was window space. With these concessions he believed it would be possible to keep the dormitories well aired by having all the windows open day and night except when necessary to close those on the windward side during a storm. According to this plan the dormitories were to be used only for sleeping, the commons—located in the middle of the building and heated by stoves—serving as a resting place during the odd hours and half hours when the men were off duty.

## CHANGES IN PLAN

After this plan was finished and after construction had begun, two changes were made: the size of the company was increased to 250 men and a board of medical men appointed by the secretary of war secured the substitution of single cots for the double deckers. This board made a number of other recommendations, including elimination of lockers and hanging the outer walls of the barracks on hinges, so that a whole wall could be lifted up. It also recommended that only thirty men should occupy a dormitory and not more than fifty in any case.

This board was rightly impressed by the inadequate air space per man and most of its recommendations were designed to rectify this. Unfortunately the board did not secure an extension of the buildings, so part of its recommendations made the other part impossible. Single cots were substituted for double deckers, but in order to get floor space for them, crowded as thickly as they could be placed, it was necessary to omit all

partitions, sweep away the commons and convert the six dormitories into two. So instead of from thirty-two to forty men in a room there have been as many as 185.

The increase in the size of a company which at first threatened to accentuate this crowding has ultimately decreased it as a company now occupies a barrack and a half instead of a single building. The mess hall, however, designed for 200 men, remains of its original size. The unexpected delay in calling out the full first quota made this spreading out of companies possible and later appropriations have provided for the erection of more buildings. Some of these, used by the training battalions, are smaller than the original barracks, and house only thirty to thirty-three men on a floor.

The sanitary arrangements in the national army cantonments were most thoroughly provided for. Adjacent to every barrack is a latrine or lavatory containing spigots, showers, urinal and stools. Water and sewer systems are complete. The water is purified and the sewage, except in a few cases as that of Camp Taylor on the Ohio, is treated before being discharged into streams.

#### WHERE THE CITY PLANNERS CAME IN

Having decided upon the unit barrack, officers' quarters, store houses, headquarters and other necessary buildings, and having settled their dimensions the next problem was to group them most economically and conveniently. Here the city planners came in, *for each cantonment is in reality a city with a population of from 30,000 to 50,000.* Arrangement without waste space meant saving not only in that prime essential, time, but in material, labor and money; for roads which will bear heavy traffic, sewers and water pipe must serve every part of the cantonment. And every yard saved on the plan meant sixteen yards saved in the sixteen cantonments.

The plan adopted was a gigantic U covering about six square miles. At the base of the U are the railroad tracks and store houses while along the two arms stretch the barrack buildings. This plan, of course, was modified to suit the topography of the different cantonments, but it has been followed in general. Its form permits of indefinite extension, a fortunate fact as changes made in organization have necessitated considerable extensions. Here the experience of the city planners stood them in good stead, for if anything could have been considered definite it was the organization of an army. In fact one plan early suggested assumed such definiteness and if adopted would have handicapped the later expansion.

The cantonments were not finished on the date set, they are not fully completed yet. Some of them are superior to others. But that early planning, despite all later changes, has permitted more rapid work of



construction, has obviated confusion, caused certainty of action, and led to far more satisfactory results than would have been possible otherwise. Slowness in delivery of material, lack of ability on the part of individual contractors, caused delays; but delays due to confusion, indecision, false starts and new beginnings were notable for their absence. For the construction of the cantonments had been thought through even to such details as whether or not there should be tin wash basins—the use of which would have lessened by millions of gallons the amount of water that must be pumped, but use of which would have spread disease.

## PATRIOTISM IN CANADIAN CITIES<sup>1</sup>

BY MRS. H. P. PLUMPTRE

*Toronto, Canada*

THE subject of the meeting this morning is patriotism in Canadian cities. Patriotism is not a war measure; nor does it last only for the duration of the war. It began before the war and it will last after the war. Under your Red Cross in America are combined a great many of those war relief funds which in Canada (because we began rather in a hurry to do our war work), are sporadic and not concentrated. Your Red Cross has combined many of these and it is generating a force which after the war is destined to be one of the very strongest elements in civic life throughout your country, as it will be throughout ours.

I would like to begin by reminding you of this very close connection between war work and the work which goes on year by year and day by day of trying to make our cities better places to live in.

### WAR PATRIOTISM AND PEACE PATRIOTISM

Those who have been interested in town planning, or in the housing campaign, or in the better feeding of our citizens—whether the babies, or the school children, or the general public from the market point of view, they have all been doing patriotic work. I should like to wait a moment to make the connection as clear as I can, for it exists so strongly in my mind—the connection between patriotic work as it exists in peace time and patriotic work as it exists in war time.

I have lately had the honor of travelling for the Red Cross throughout the western parts of Canada. I have before that visited the eastern cities. I have seen a good deal of the work throughout Canada, and what I have seen makes me feel that the connection between peace patriotism and war patriotism is exceedingly close.

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered at the Detroit meeting of the National Municipal League. Mrs. Plumptre, the wife of Canon Plumptre of St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, is the secretary of the Canadian Red Cross.—EDITOR.

When I was in the west, I was shown one day some sketches that were found on a German prisoner who was taken captive by the Canadians. One of these consisted of a view of some houses in one of the worst slums of one of the biggest British cities. The other one consisted of a picture of one of those degenerate and feeble-minded persons who are such a constant problem in the peace time of our cities.

What were they doing in the pocket of a German prisoner? On one picture was written these words in German: "If the British conquer, this is the kind of house that you will have to live in"; and over the head of the terribly degenerate specimen was written, "This is the type of man that the British system produces."

I ask you whether there isn't a very close connection between our peace and our war patriotism when the Germans could circulate these pictures (and I suppose that we possibly might duplicate them from any American or Canadian city) and point to them as our "peace" atrocities, in exactly the same way as we have printed pictures of the war atrocities of the Germans?

It seems to me that what we want to do is to discover some method—and, gentlemen, I assume that I am speaking to those who have a very great influence on this work—of applying the enthusiasm of war patriotism to the problems of peace patriotism after the war is over.

There is another way in which I think peace patriotism and war patriotism in our cities are closely connected: What percentage of your men are being rejected because they don't come up to the health standard of the army? Do you find that you have a few men (or many) men rejected for that reason who might otherwise have served in the supreme duty of the state? Why should our city conditions be such as to produce such citizens; not thought much about in peace time, but in war time presenting a new and serious problem because we find they do not measure up to the full duties of citizenship?

Why don't we look after the life and health of our people in peace time? After all, a man or a woman has a duty to render to the state in peace time; why don't we look after their health and housing conditions and their general life with the same earnestness and the same concern for that man and that woman as a citizen of the state in the time of peace as we exhibit with regard to our soldiers in time of war?

#### THE SUPREME TEST OF WAR

I think it is not too much to hope that the supreme test of war which has been applied to manhood and to womanhood, too, in the allied nations will produce some standard of citizenship to which the cities of our communities and our nations shall feel impelled to attain in order that these cities may be places where a man and a woman can develop to the fullest extent all their ability; not for their own sakes but as units and indi-



viduals who are an integral part of the life of the state and the country. This seems to me to be a "peace patriotism" which is forced upon us by our war experience; is it too much to hope that ultimately war patriotism will devote itself to the solution of these peace problems?

I think perhaps I might be able to give you one or two facts of interest which have grown out of our experience in Canada. The chairman has spoken of the work of the women of Canada and of the sacrifices they have made—and that is true of a great many. I suppose that I should confess that we have women slackers as well as men slackers, that there are women who are disappointing just as there are men who are disappointing. Sometimes we women have all the praise and not much of the blame. The men are very generous in praising the women's work, and perhaps as a woman I might say that I don't know any class in the community that has been braver than the fathers of men who have gone to the front. The mothers are mentioned and perhaps their sacrifice is greater, but I know in my own experience many men who are staggering under the shock of bereavement and the loss not only of one who is dear to them, but one who embodied the fulfillment of their own professional hopes; not only someone who would carry on the family name but someone whom they were building upon to carry on the work of a great corporation.

#### PRIZES FOR PATRIOTISM

The women have done much. Yesterday morning I was speaking to a member of my own household. She is a widow, she has one child, a boy who is not yet twenty-one. He is at this moment in a hospital in England. He was one of the heroes of Passchendaele. I was talking to her about our "Victory Loan" and she was asking me about the rate of interest that was being given by our government on these bonds. I told her five and a half per cent. She said, "I wish the government hadn't given as much as five and a half per cent. *It seems to me like giving a prize for being patriotic.*"

That was said by a woman whose only child was at that moment lying in the hospital after having fought through two years of war, and it seems to me that it showed a splendid spirit. She resented receiving so much for her money because she wanted to pay the full price of patriotism.

As I have travelled through the country I have met many such cases, not always perhaps as clear as that one. I can think now of a city in Canada where there is a man and his wife and daughters living in the corner of a house because that man has abandoned his business and has been obliged to give up using his large house and automobile in order that he may give his entire time voluntarily, unpaid, to patriotic work. One of the daughters is practically doing the work of the house and another is training in a business college in order to be able to help the family funds by her efforts.

That is one class of sacrifice which I think is being made quite largely. Men and women are giving up all kinds of things they have been accustomed to in order to be better able to give their wealth or their personal service to patriotic funds.

There is another man that I know,—he is well-known in the United States—who has all his life been accustomed to live comfortably and have at his command the ordinary luxuries of a wealthy man. The other day when I went to his house I found that he had no car now, and that the street car had become his limousine for the time of the war. Two sons of his and a son-in-law has been killed and two sons are still fighting at the front.

I think it is right to tell some of these things, not because I want to brag in the United States of what Canada has done, but because it is sometimes by learning what others have done that we may learn how we may also follow in the same path.

We have had, as Sir George Gibbons has said, an experience of three years. We began our work in a scramble because we didn't expect war and we had no time to organize. We had to work first and organize afterwards; and when I see the splendid way in which you are organizing for your war work, it fills me with admiration, and I may say also with a certain amount of jealousy. So many of the difficulties which we have had to meet will be smoothed out of your way because you have been able to build on experience and because you have had time to see how things could be really well done.

I have had the honor of going to the headquarters of the Red Cross in Washington. We had the honor last Sunday of entertaining in Toronto representatives from the Head Office in Washington—Miss Marshall, the head of the women's bureau of the Red Cross and Miss Davison. They talked over with us their plans and we have talked with them of ours and we find the difference of organization is very great; but we find, in the words of the Scripture, that while there are diversity of operations, there is the same spirit working through us all. We have to fulfill ourselves in many different ways in this war and if there is one thing which everybody has to learn, it is the diversity of the calls which come as the war goes on.

#### CHANGING DEMANDS

The things that are wanted to-day are not wanted to-morrow just because you made them to-day. It is a hard lesson sometimes and perhaps the women find it hardest to learn. "Why are these demands always changing? Why do you want one thing to-day and another tomorrow? I wish you had settled plans."

But I say, "The enemy has not given us his plans and so we cannot settle ours. It is rather like a game of chess. We can't settle our moves because, you see, the opponent may make a move which upsets all our calculations."



Some of the things we have to put up with are simply the exigencies of war. I read your beautiful *Red Cross Magazine*. I hope you all see it. I see from the last issue that you are suffering from just the same plague we suffer from—that of unfounded rumor. It is one of the plagues of the war.

I took up one of your Detroit papers this morning and saw exactly the same sort of rumor described as we have had running through Canada from time to time, about selling socks. How it arose, we don't know—it may be by pro-German influence, it may be just because people are meeting together a great deal (and I suppose women especially), and when they meet they like to talk. Of course if you hear a really exciting story about something that's said to have happened, you like to tell the next person who is working beside you.

There is a great deal of conversation in working parties. One woman who came into our Headquarters, when told we didn't want her workers to roll bandages or make surgical supplies, said, "What do you want?"

I said, "What we want is pyjamas."

"That takes sewing machines," she protested, "and our ladies don't like sewing machines. *They drown the conversation.*" I suppose that is true. I suppose women like to talk (I have heard men talk in my time, too), and conversation is a large part of the meeting, but I want to impress this upon anyone here who has anything to do with patriotic work: The best counteractant of rumor is information. You can't give too much information about patriotic work.

#### LACK OF KNOWLEDGE

One thing I have learned in my travels is how little people know. You find when you talk to them that things are absolutely new to them which you took for granted that they knew from the beginning. Therefore, in patriotic war work (if you take a hint from us), give every atom of information you can. People only require authentic information to make them contribute to your Red Cross funds. One of the most serious mistakes that any patriotic society can make is to refuse information to the public.

Another thing may I suggest from our experience? That is not to judge patriotism by statistics. In going through Canada I have found how exceedingly different is the manner in which the war affects various communities. One city is made wealthy by the war and another city is impoverished; a dollar from one city is perhaps worth ten dollars or a hundred or a thousand from another city.

We have sometimes had cities held up as doing a great deal and others looked askance on for not doing more. I am secretary of the executive office of our Society and not of the women's department only, and from experience is my work I would advise, in dealing with the returns that come in from various cities, that you should not do too much comparing!

You may have the population of the city and you may be able to work out statistics to so much per head and yet you may arrive at a result which is very far indeed from the truth.

I'd like to give you an instance of what I mean. I have in my mind two municipalities—both about four thousand in population. One has given in the neighborhood of eighty thousand dollars to patriotic work and the other has given about sixteen hundred dollars to patriotic work. What lies behind those two municipalities? One is a mining community in which there is very great wealth and to which the war has brought still more wealth. The other is a little wind-swept city on the shores of the Pacific whose chief trade since the war began has been an export trade in young men to fight in France; a place where in one church which only seats three hundred people, they showed me an honor of roll one hundred and two names of men who were serving at the front.

And yet they have sent forward some sixteen hundred dollars from that community where the men are conspicuous by their absence, where the industries have almost ceased for lack of men and have passed very often into the hands of foreigners to whom the appeal has not come in the same force. How can you make a just comparison between the giving of those two municipalities, although you may work it out to the most accurate average?

#### NEED FOR PREPARATION

One of our experiences in Canada has certainly been that you cannot measure patriotism by statistics. Another thought I would like to give is that which has been already mentioned by Sir George Gibbons. He is chairman of the campaign fund in London. I have had the honor of being chairman of the woman's sections of all the campaigns that have taken place in Toronto except the last, when I was in the west. Those campaigns *look* as if they were very easy to get up; a good deal of noise and enough advertising and not much else in them. But those who know, realize that for weeks and months beforehand, men have been liberally giving their time and business experience to preparing very careful card indices of the whole population of the cities so far as they can get them, classifying the citizens according to what each might be expected to give, dividing their names among canvassing teams according to the location of their houses or offices, so that there were really months of work behind days of apparent endeavor.

Therefore, one more thought I leave with you as the result of our experience. You cannot get good patriotic returns without the most careful patriotic preparation beforehand. It is not the people who show on the last three days of a big drive who have necessarily done the most work; it is the people who for weeks and months beforehand have been laying the lines and preparing the ground so that when the time of attack comes,

the attacking party may find the way prepared: that the "tanks" have gone ahead before them and cut down the wires, so that the infantry and the cavalry can sweep through and take the enemy's trenches!

May I then leave you these few, rather scattered thoughts about our war experiences—but, more than any other, that thought with which I began—that war patriotism and peace patriotism are one; and that if this war is going to be a blessing in any sense to us (and it takes a great deal of courage to say that any good can compensate for the many evils and great losses of war)—if war is going to accomplish anything that is good, should it not be along the line of making our countries and our cities fit for the men who come home to live in? Should it not be by applying to our social life not only the patriotism but also the principles for which our men are dying overseas and trying to see that, within our civic administration, there shall be the same principles of liberty and justice, of fair play and of care for the weak which we and you are fighting together to preserve at the front?

## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PUBLIC UTILITY FIELD AFFECTING FRANCHISE POLICIES AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP<sup>1</sup>

BY DELOS F. WILCOX, *Chairman*  
*New York City*

THE Chicago street railway settlement ordinances adopted in 1907 are universally recognized as a principal landmark in the development of a constructive franchise policy in the United States. They established an elaborate contractual relation between the city and the operating companies, with provision for the immediate rehabilitation of the lines and improvement of the service, coupled with provisions for future extensions and continuous control of equipment. They definitely fixed the investment then in service and provided the means for measuring the additions to it from time to time. They put into effect a plan for the division of profits between the city and the companies, procured for the city the right to take over the street railway system at any time upon paying the fixed purchase price, and created a street railway purchase fund into which the city's share of the profits was to be placed. These resettlement ordinances applied to the surface street railway lines only and now, after ten years of experience with these franchises, the city of Chicago is striving to bring about a new resettlement that will include the elevated

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Committee on Franchises of the National Municipal League, presented at Detroit, Michigan, November 22, 1917.



railroads and make adequate provision for the construction of much-needed subways.

#### STATE CONTROL IN CHICAGO

At this critical time in the development of its street railway policy, Chicago is embarrassed by the substantial limitation of the powers of home rule which it has heretofore enjoyed with respect to the regulation and control of public utilities. The legal doctrine that a state public service commission, in the exercise of the police power by delegation from the the legislature, has authority over the rates and service of local public utilities, without regard to the terms and conditions of local franchises, has been spreading rapidly over the United States during the past few years, and has now been definitely established in the state of Illinois by the decision of the supreme court rendered in April, 1917, in the case of *Chicago v. O'Connell*. This decision is so radical and has so much significance with respect to the development of constructive franchise policies that we deem it necessary to call public attention to its implications. The state public utilities commission of Illinois, assuming jurisdiction over the street railways of Chicago and disregarding the terms of the settlement ordinances of 1907, issued an order in September, 1915, requiring the companies to operate their cars at intervals to be determined by methods prescribed in the order; to provide "turn-back" service in the loop district; to submit a comprehensive plan for rerouting the cars in order to secure maximum track capacity; to acquire the additional equipment necessary to enable them to carry out the provisions of the order; to install trailers during the rush hours; to submit to the commission plans for all new passenger cars, and for the remodeling of old ones, for its approval as to the width of passage ways, height of steps, type and location of seats, platform arrangements, etc., and to do certain other things considered by the commission to be requisite for the rendering of adequate service. This order did not undertake to revise the schedule of rates and transfers, but confined itself to matters directly affecting service. The city of Chicago brought injunction proceedings to prevent the commission from enforcing the order. The city contended that the settlement ordinances and the ordinance passed in 1913 requiring unified operation of the surface car lines constituted valid and binding contracts between the city and the companies, and that the commission's order violated the obligations of these contracts and deprived the city of the jurisdiction and control over street railways conferred upon it by the state constitution. The street railway companies were party defendants in this case, but they filed a cross bill by means of which they virtually took the same position as the city in the litigation.

The provision of the state constitution upon which the city relied prohibits the legislature from granting the right to construct and operate a

street railroad within any municipality "without requiring the consent of the local authorities having the control of the street or highway proposed to be occupied by such street railroad." The supreme court in previous cases had stated that "the constitution commits to the city the control of the operation of street railways in its streets," and upon this declaration the city of Chicago placed great reliance. In this case, however, the court said that the statement just quoted "merely means that the constitution has conferred upon the city power to determine whether street railways shall be operated upon the streets of the city, and if so upon what streets. To this extent, and no further, the constitution has committed to the city the control of the operation of street railways in its streets." This disposed of any home rule guaranty in the state constitution.

#### FRANCHISE CONTRACTS AND THE POLICE POWER

The court then took up the discussion of the police power with respect to its bearing upon the authority of the Illinois public utilities commission to disregard or override the terms and conditions of the Chicago street railway settlement franchises. The court admitted that the city's contention was "undoubtedly sound so far as the contracts relate to *matters which do not affect the public safety, welfare, comfort or convenience.*" What these matters may be was in part indicated. "Thus, the grant of the right to the railway companies," said the court, "to construct and operate street railways in the city, the agreement to divide the net receipts between the railway companies and the city, and the option given to the city to purchase the railway properties at a certain price are all matters which do not affect the public safety, welfare, comfort or convenience, *because it is immaterial to the public what person or corporation operates the railways, or what disposition is made of the profits*, and over those matters neither the state nor the state public utilities commission has any control by virtue of the police power." As to the matters covered by the commission's order which were involved in this litigation, the court said: "The order requires only such things to be done by the railway companies as will, in the judgment of the commission, improve the service furnished the public, and *in so far as the order conflicts with the ordinances concerning such matters, the order of the commission supersedes and sets aside the provisions of the ordinances*, but does not, within the meaning of the constitutional prohibitions, impair the obligations of any contract, because the city had no power to contract away any of the police powers delegated to it by the legislature."

It is noteworthy that the court does not in this case mention rate-fixing either among those powers which are not included in the police powers or among those which are. It is clear, however, from the decisions of other courts that the fixing of rates is to be regarded as falling within the province of the police power, and, by the reasoning of the Illinois court in this

case, it is clear that if the question arose the court would uphold the jurisdiction of the state public utilities commission to set aside or revise the schedule of fares and transfers prescribed in the Chicago settlement ordinances. With this in mind, the following language of the court is especially ominous with respect to the free development of municipal policy looking toward the control and ultimate acquisition of street railways in accordance with procedure established by resettlement franchises. "If the city of Chicago," said the court, "in entering into contracts with the railroad companies has seen fit to make its option to purchase the street railway system, or its right to a certain portion of the net receipts derived from the operation of this system, or any other rights reserved to it by the ordinances, dependent upon the non-exercise of the police power by the state, *it cannot be heard to complain that by the exercise of the police power by the state, through the state public utilities commission, it will lose its right to those benefits reserved to it by the ordinances.*"

#### A CRITICAL SITUATION

It is not too much to say that the condition brought about by the development of the law as typified in this case, coupled with the financial difficulties in which street railway companies generally are now finding themselves, creates a situation that is perhaps more critical than was ever before experienced in the public utility field. Unquestionably, the extraordinary increases in the costs of operation that have developed during the war period make it impossible for street railway or other public utility companies to continue to operate indefinitely under fixed inflexible rate schedules. Unquestionably, also, the theory of rate regulation by state commissions contemplates the readjustment of rates up or down as financial necessities may require, without regard to fixed or arbitrary rates established by tradition, by legislation or by franchise contracts. The only alternative to a flexible, adjustable schedule of fares on privately operated street railways, for example, is the establishment of a contractual relation between the cities and the companies by which the financial relief required as a result of increasing operating costs will be granted through relief from taxation or through subsidies out of the proceeds of taxation. Local transportation is a necessary public service in every large urban community. If the service cannot be discontinued then obviously its necessary cost must be paid, and ultimately the payment must be made by those for whom the service is rendered, or by the city as a taxing unit on their behalf. In the presence of economic necessities and powerful but conflicting interests, the public utility situation is drifting, and public policy is being shaped along wrong and dangerous lines by inadvertence; by the failure or neglect of states and cities to formulate and establish definite programs with respect to the necessary public utilities operating within their borders and potentially under their control.



## TWO CONFLICTING TENDENCIES

While it is assumed that public sentiment is crystallizing in favor of municipal ownership and operation and that we are drifting toward the realization of that system as an ultimate policy, certain important facts, upon careful examination, belie the assumption. At this moment, two powerful but conflicting tendencies in the public utility field have gained headway in the United States. One is the tendency on the part of great municipalities to recognize public utilities as municipal functions, and by means of new or resettlement franchises containing purchase clauses and amortization provisions, to prepare for the ultimate municipalization of the utilities, particularly street railways, now privately owned and operated. This tendency has dominated to a greater or less extent the street railway settlements adopted during the past ten years in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York, Kansas City, Des Moines, Dallas and Cincinnati, and is now dominating the negotiations pending in Toledo, Minneapolis, Oakland and St. Louis. San Francisco and Seattle have even gone to the extent of establishing competing municipal car lines, and Detroit has once voted 4 to 1, in favor of municipal ownership, and is now going along under a day-to-day agreement,<sup>2</sup> refusing to grant a new street railway franchise on any terms. The other tendency referred to is the one typified by the Illinois decision in the *O'Connell* case. It is based upon the theory that the state as such has no interest in the change from private to public ownership and operation but, taking utilities as it finds them, should assume control of rates and service to the exclusion of the local authorities. That the legislature, in the absence of specific constitutional guaranties of municipal home rule in respect to this particular matter, has unrestricted authority to exercise the police power, or to delegate its exercise to a state commission, without regard to the public utility policies which may have been formulated by local authorities and sanctioned by local contracts, has now been established by court decisions in many of the states, including Wisconsin, Washington, New York, Oklahoma and Illinois. Already the development of this legal theory and its actual application by state public service commissions have begun to counteract the other tendency to which we have just referred and to paralyze the efforts of cities to grapple with their local utility problems and to formulate and adopt effective municipal policies looking toward the ultimate practical recognition of public utilities as public functions. The significance of this conflict can hardly be overestimated, for it is clear that with all the traditional assumptions of state sovereignty in its favor, the movement for exclusive state control is likely to prove too powerful for the cities acting individually, with the result that the public utility policy

<sup>2</sup> Since this report was presented, the Detroit United Railway has repudiated its day-to-day agreement with the city of Detroit. The old rates of fare and the old state of war have been restored together.—D. F. W.

of this country will be crystallized by state action in favor of the permanence of private ownership and operation without regard to the desires of the cities for whose benefit the utilities have been established.

In our judgment the proper solution of the problem lies in two things: first, a definite and comprehensive formulation of municipal policy with respect to public utilities, and second, a careful delimitation of the spheres of state and local control with provision for legal co-operation between state and local authorities in the exercise of the necessary supervision over public utilities while they continue to be owned and operated by private corporations, and in a different way after they have been municipalized.

#### DEFINITE POLICIES SHOULD BE ADOPTED

While we recognize that to a certain extent the policy of cities with respect to their public utilities is a matter for determination according to the particular circumstances of time and place, and while, therefore, we would oppose any attempt on the part of the state to formulate and enforce a mandatory policy with respect to municipal ownership, we are, nevertheless, convinced that the time has come when all constitutional and statutory obstacles that stand in the way of the free development of municipal policy, under limited state administrative supervision, should be removed, and that it no longer satisfies the legitimate demands upon civic statesmanship for the municipal authorities to adopt a policy of indefinite postponement with respect to the determination of what the city is ultimately going to do about its public utilities. We believe that the time has come when state laws should be formulated for the purpose of facilitating the determination by municipalities of certain fundamental issues with respect to public utilities, and that whenever a municipality has received the authority to do so, it should proceed to the formulation, declaration and definite adoption of its policy. It may be that without plan or preparation many or all cities would ultimately be driven into municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, but it is clear to us that if cities enter upon municipal ownership and operation in this manner, they will be most heavily handicapped in the performance of one of the most vital of all municipal functions. The operation of public utilities requires technical knowledge, experience and skill of a high order. Cities cannot operate public utilities successfully until after they have learned how. No more can they control the operation of public utilities by private corporations until they have learned how. We regard it as in the highest degree incumbent upon cities that have not already done so, immediately to set up the necessary machinery for the development of expert knowledge and skill in the construction, control and operation of these utilities, and we regard the adoption of the policy of exclusive state control as a menace to the integrity of municipal government. We be-

lieve that the utilities rendering necessary public service, definitely urban in character, are theoretically and in their very nature primarily a concern of local government, and that any failure on the part of a city to recognize this fact and any action on the part of the state which would prevent a city, after recognizing this fact, from performing its legitimate functions, runs fundamentally counter to the legitimate welfare of the public and to the development of a properly organized and functioning democracy.

#### SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Specifically, as to the formulation of municipal policy and as to the co-operation between state and local authorities in the control of public utilities, we make the following recommendations:

1. That every state remove the handicaps from municipal ownership by clearing away legal and financial obstacles, so far as they are now embedded in constitutional and statutory law.

2. That every state provide expert administrative agencies for the regulation and control of public utilities. These agencies should have full jurisdiction over interurban services and over local services where the local authorities are unwilling or unable to exercise local control. They should have limited jurisdiction wherever the local authorities are in a position to exercise the full normal functions of municipal government, and should even have jurisdiction with respect to accounting and reports in the case of utilities owned and operated by municipalities.

3. That every city where public utilities are operated primarily as local services definitely recognize these services as public functions and set in motion at once the financial machinery necessary to bring about the municipalization of public utility investments at the earliest practicable moment.

4. That every such city, pending the municipalization of its utilities, recognize the necessity of giving security to public utility investments and to a fair rate of return thereon, and to that end assume as a municipal burden the ultimate financial risks of public utility enterprises and insist upon receiving the benefits naturally accruing from this policy in the form of a lowered cost of capital.

5. That every city definitely adopt the policy of securing public utility service to the consumers either at cost, or at fixed rates not in excess of cost with subsidies from taxation whenever needed for the maintenance of the service at the rates fixed.

6. That every large city provide itself with expert administrative agencies for the continuous study of local public utility problems; for the adjustment of complaints as to service; for the preparation and criticism of public utility contracts and ordinances; for the formulation of standards of public utility service; and for adequate representation of itself and its citizens in proceedings before the state commission or other tri-



bunals affecting the capital stock and bond issues, the intercompany agreements, the accounting methods, the reports, the valuations, the rates, and the practices of public service corporations operating in whole or in part within the city's limits.

We believe that the foregoing includes only the essential points in the development of a constructive public utility policy, and that there is the most urgent need of the definite formulation and adoption, by the several states and cities of the country, of definite programs based upon the principles above outlined.<sup>3</sup>

## CITY MANAGERS IN CONCLAVE ASSEMBLED<sup>1</sup>

BY HARRISON GRAY OTIS

*Auburn, Me.<sup>2</sup>*

THE City Managers' Association, formed at Springfield, Ohio, in 1914, has demonstrated its right and title to a permanent place among the progressive municipal organizations by its very successful fourth annual convention held in Detroit in November. The attendance, despite war conditions, was the largest on record, comprising nearly one third of all the managers in the country. This showing is quite remarkable when it is recalled that many of the great city-manager states, such as California and Texas, are so located that distance barred representation. Then, too, over half the city managers hail from south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Michigan leads the union in the number of cities pledged to the city-manager plan and nearly every one of her fourteen cities, so pledged, has the orthodox commission-manager charter. It was appropriate that Detroit, who by the way has been flirting with the manager idea, should have been selected as the convention city. It was also fitting and suggestive that the opening days of the Conference on Good City Government were consigned to the City Managers' Association because the managers, after three days of intensive debate, were quieted down for the more formal sessions of the Municipal League, or,—after a work-menu of solid, technical discussions, were prime for the delicacies to follow.

<sup>3</sup> This report was signed by Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, Chairman, William M. Leiserson, Horatio M. Pollock, Charles Richardson, and Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Committee on Franchises.

<sup>1</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Secretary-treasurer, City Managers' Association. We had hoped to have a summary of the discussion of the city-manager form of government at Detroit, by Gaylord C. Cummin, city manager of Grand Rapids, but the fuel situation in Grand Rapids made it impossible for him to prepare the summary in time for publication in this issue.—EDITOR.

Suggestive, too, in that it symbolized the National Municipal League's splendid spirit of co-operation in throwing the spotlight of its cordial endorsement upon the movement represented by the managers.

#### SPECIALISTS AS HEADLINERS

The managers tried out the orthodox convention plan this time of calling in for its program headliners acknowledged specialists in their various fields, following up the addresses with discussions. This feature will help to make the yearbook, containing the proceedings of the convention, of much greater value than any of its predecessors. Certainly it is true that the generous contributions of our friends were, and will be, appreciated and the association has voted to conduct its 1918 convention along the same lines, with more time allotted for discussion. There was some excellent material presented, and in clear-cut form.

The only "set speech" of the convention made by a manager was the address by O. E. Carr of Niagara Falls, retiring president of the association. From the rich fund of his experiences and observations, he described,<sup>3</sup> in a decidedly human way, some of the trials and pitfalls that have tended to afflict the managerial profession with a high mortality rate. An editor sub-headlining his talk might adopt some such captions as follow: "Everybody Blames the Manager," "Party Politics Die Hard," "Tact, a Prime Requisite," "When Commissioners Oppose the Plan," "Need of Non-Partisan Press" and "War Stimulates Economy in Government."

#### PAVING PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

"Ann Arbor's Paving Experience," as described by City Engineer Manly Osgood was uniquely valuable in that the speaker emphasized the mistakes that his city has made in some of its many paving experiments. He described several types of construction, and nearly as many methods of repairing. The rise and fall of the once-famous "Dollarway" pavement which created such a stir about five years ago was graphically pictured. After a long period of experimentation, Ann Arbor has returned to standard types of pavement, constructed by contract under careful supervision and inspection.

#### CITY MANAGERS AS PROMOTERS OF DEMOCRACY

Jesse D. Burks, director of the Los Angeles efficiency commission, sounded the keynote of the convention in emphasizing the responsibility that rests upon all engaged in city management to do the thing most worth while to further the ends of democracy in these times of world war. He condemned political boss rule in city government as essentially Prussianism, "an attempt on the part of a small, compact, powerful group to

<sup>3</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 45.

put over its will upon the great masses in its own interests." He declared that "it doesn't make a particle of difference to democracy whether that attempt to exploit all of us is made through a powerful political machine or through a powerful military machine,—the results to democracy are likely to be just the same."

Dr. Burks' address was inspirational throughout. Warning of the danger that lurks in the attitude of the average voter, he remarked: "When the time comes that we can get up as much excitement over the unnecessary death of a thousand babies in August, two years after election, as we can over the murder of one policeman in September, six weeks before an election, possibly we will have gone some way toward real democracy."

#### CITY PLANNING AND INDUSTRIAL SURVEY

"City Planning for Small Cities with Special Reference to an Industrial Survey," by A. Pearson Hoover, New York City, a consulting engineer, was a particularly practical paper on a subject which the average city is so easily tempted to "put off till to-morrow." He defined city planning as development along scientific and efficiency lines. He urged the importance of planning for the future while a city is small. Special stress was laid upon street arrangement and improvement, transit problems and districting for future growth. "The time to district a large city was when it was small." A plea for playgrounds and parks was followed by an excellent working plan for a complete industrial survey.

#### CHILDS AND WAITE ON FUTURE OF MANAGER PLAN

No one is better qualified to snap the chalk-line and mark the course for city managerism than Richard S. Childs. As originator of the commission-manager plan and nurse to the infant idea, he is perhaps the one man to whom the movement is most deeply indebted. "Now that We Have the Commission-Manager Plan,—What Are We Going to Do with It?"—the program reads. The sound advice and practical suggestions in Mr. Childs' address, augmented by the remarks of Henry M. Waite, struck the high-water mark of the convention. If the various commissioners and managers throughout the country absorb but a small part of the ideas here turned loose, and profit by them, the high mortality rate, complained of by Mr. Carr, would take a sudden and lasting fall.

The opening and closing sentences of Mr. Childs' paper indicate the trend: "Running a city government is like riding a bicycle,—you must keep going or you will fall over"; and "The great city managers of to-morrow will be those whose ideals stopped at no line of dogma or tradition, but who pushed beyond the old horizons and discovered new worlds of service."

William P. Lovett, executive secretary of the Detroit citizens' league, in his timely address, "Our Citizen Bosses," summarized the thought



that was expressed, in one form or another throughout the convention: The absolute need of keeping in touch with the people by a continuous program of progressive publicity. These special features of the program were, of course, subjected to the free and frank discussion of the managers, nearly every manager having his say.

#### ROUND-TABLE METHOD VALUABLE

Indeed, one fact is significant. The one session devoted to the managers' round table,—so pronouncedly in vogue at our previous conventions, and which has been criticised as not producing "good reading" in the proceedings,—was the liveliest and, apparently, most enjoyed session of the whole convention.

On the program appeared: Practical Problems in Administration Relating to: Law, Public Utilities, Officials and Workmen, Newspapers, Commissioners, Financing Public Improvements, Special Problems of Small Cities, and Governmental Conditions. Each manager was requested to prepare a brief report of the experiences of his own city along any or each of the above lines. The session opened at ten o'clock. When the gavel struck at noon, the convention was just nicely started on the second of the eight subjects. There hadn't been a dull moment the whole morning.

This session, and the frequently expressed regret that it did not last longer, are evidence that the round table will remain as a vital part of future conventions of the Managers' Association. The reasons are obvious: All through the year the managers dig away in their own towns, bearing the brunt of the battle, piling up experiences, taking the blame for all that goes wrong; getting little sympathy and less praise. The convention affords the one big safety valve. It is the one chance in the year to tell of troubles and triumphs to kindred spirits. Don't blame the managers if the round-table chats fail to constitute a "real contribution to municipal literature."<sup>4</sup> Again, if each manager knows that he is to be called on, he is bound to take a greater personal interest in the proceedings, and the success of any convention depends upon, and is commensurate with, the number interested and the degree of their interest.

#### ACHIEVEMENTS UNDER COMMISSION-MANAGER GOVERNMENT

One important feature of former conventions was lacking this year. The managers were given no opportunity to tell what has been accomplished in their respective cities under the new plan. The first questions asked of the advocates of commission-manager government, and those hardest to answer, are: How does the plan work? What are the managers doing? Is it really worth while? And the answers are to be found in the *results accomplished by the present managers*. Every campaign

<sup>4</sup>Refers to Mr. Childs' comment on the last managers' yearbook. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September, 1917.

manager and every writer on the subject knows how meagre the available material is.

There is no better time to get this invaluable data than at the annual convention of the managers. Again, the exchange of experiences thus afforded, serves as an excellent stimulant to renewed effort and suggests new channels for the expression of that effort. If a manager knows that his achievements are to be given nation-wide publicity, he is pretty likely to try to make them worthy of such publicity, and the reaction of this on the home town is certain to establish the new régime more securely in the hearts of the people, by broadening the field of the manager's service to his city.

A little "corridor chat" scheme, arising from this very oversight, will, however, more than compensate for the omission, though made harder of execution by it. The association is securing "achievement reports" from managers all over the country, whether they attended the convention or not. A series of some fifty of these will be selected, "boiled down" and published in the forthcoming yearbook of the society. Some of these reports now reaching the secretary's desk, from managers heretofore little known, will make the older managers in the larger cities "look to their laurels."

#### THE CITY MANAGERS' YEARBOOK

The fourth volume of the city managers' yearbook is now in process of publication. It will contain the full text of the very excellent addresses referred to above, together with the "come-backs" of the managers. The lively round table discussions on accountancy, standardization of forms, municipal law, public utilities, proportional representation and kindred subjects will all appear, as will the business proceedings of the convention. These features will be augmented by the brief and spicy "achievement reports" of the managers in condensed form. A revised list of cities operating under or pledged to, the manager plan, giving the names and salaries of the managers is being prepared; and the series of half-tones of the managers published in the *American City* symposiums, from time to time, has been secured. This yearbook constitutes the big contribution of the Managers' Association to the promulgation of the movement.

#### MANAGERS PLAN MONTHLY BULLETIN

At the closing business session, an important innovation was inaugurated, looking to the greater usefulness of the association to its members and to the greater "cohesion" of all city managers. A committee, composed of Mr. Cummin, Mr. Waite and Mr. Otis, was delegated to assign to each of twelve managers, a subject for a paper to be prepared during 1918. These papers are to be released monthly, in mimeograph form, to

all the city managers in the country. This plan is being carried out, with Mr. Waite's office in Dayton as the distributing center.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are: President, Gaylord C. Cummin, Grand Rapids, Mich.; vice-president, Clarence A. Bingham, Norwood, Mass.;<sup>1</sup> secretary-treasurer, Harrison G. Otis, Auburn, Maine.<sup>2</sup> To the new president was left the task of deciding the date and place of the 1918 convention, which will probably be held, as heretofore, in conjunction with the National Municipal League and its allied associations.

## CONSOLIDATION PROBLEMS IN CALIFORNIA

BY GEORGE C. SIKES<sup>1</sup>

*Chicago*

SUCH familiarity as I may have with the situation in California is due to the fact that I was asked by the taxpayers' association of California to go to that state last spring to give advice with reference to a report then in contemplation on "City and County Consolidation for Los Angeles." My advice was sought because of my part in helping to prepare the report on "Unification of Local Governments in Chicago," issued in January last by the Chicago bureau of public efficiency.

### CONSOLIDATION AND REORGANIZATION

Let me say at the outset that the movement for city and county consolidation should not be considered by itself as a separate problem. It is a part of the larger problem of governmental reorganization on the basis of unity, simplicity, and the short ballot. We Americans are too much given to looking upon plans as panaceas. Too often we discuss the city-manager plan, the short ballot, consolidation, etc., as mere mechanical devices for insuring good government, when they should be considered as features of plans for fundamental reorganization calculated, not to guarantee good government, but to facilitate the efforts of local communities to function more effectively. Some communities—notably San Francisco, St. Louis and Denver—have consolidated their city and county governments. But they did not at the same time undertake to deal with other important phases of the question of reorganization. Galveston, Des Moines, Dayton, and other cities adopting either the commission or the manager plans of government are living under county governments

<sup>1</sup> Becomes manager of Waltham, Mass., April 1, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> Appointed manager, Auburn, Me., January 25, 1918.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Sikes is connected with the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, working especially on problems of reorganization of local government in Chicago.



much the same as they were before. City and county consolidation and fundamental reorganization of the government on right lines should go hand in hand.

In the movement for city and county consolidation, California has been a leader. San Francisco was one of the first communities in the country to merge its city and county governments, that merger having been effected in 1856. While the San Francisco venture was entirely beneficial in so far as it made for unification, unfortunately it did not go far enough in the direction of simplification. City and county governments were merged into one corporate entity, to be sure, with a single legislative body, and one assessor instead of two, and one auditor, one treasurer, etc. There are still two law departments, however, for the one government, with an elective district attorney as the head of one and an elective city attorney as head of the other—an illogical and absurd situation. There is both a sheriff and a city police department. The ballot is long, many purely administrative officials being chosen by popular election. One conspicuous absurdity is furnished by the system of school management. The superintendent of schools is elective, while the board of education is appointed by the mayor. Wrangling and friction are inevitable under such circumstances. Board-headed departments are numerous in San Francisco, whereas administrative departments should be single-headed. While San Francisco has merged its city and county governments, with important resulting benefits, it has by no means eliminated all possible duplication. It lacks thoroughgoing unification, the short ballot, and a simple plan of governmental organization designed to promote efficiency and economy.

In Los Angeles county and in Alameda county especially much propaganda work has already been done in behalf of city and county consolidation. The constitution of the state has been amended with the view of removing barriers to such consolidation, in which respect California is far ahead of most other states of the union, though still further modifications of the constitution may be necessary to authorize complete consolidation on satisfactory lines.

#### THE ALAMEDA COUNTY PLAN<sup>2</sup>

In Alameda county, across the bay from San Francisco, much good propaganda work has been done on the subject of governmental reorganization. The idea is to combine Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda and other municipalities with the county of Alameda. However, the plan embodied in the draft of a charter for city and county consolidation, proposed by the executive committee of the city and county government association, is really one for federation rather than consolidation. There are to be municipal entities within the city and county of Alameda with

<sup>2</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. vi, p. 105.

assured independence in certain lines, under the name of boroughs. The governing authorities for the city and county are to be a council of 21 members chosen by districts, an elective mayor with the veto power and some appointing powers, and a manager.

While the Alameda plan is admirable in many ways, and represents much painstaking and public-spirited work, I must take issue with two of its features. It seems to me illogical and unwise to provide for an elective mayor, with veto and appointing powers, in connection with what is professedly a manager plan of government. There should be no other executive and policy-making head of the city to divide authority and responsibility which under the manager plan is supposed to be centered in the council, and its executive agent, the manager.

It seems to me, too, that the rigid system of independent boroughs for which the Alameda plan makes provision is likely to prove unworkable in practice.

#### BOROUGH GOVERNMENT

The problem of borough government is as yet an unsolved one. Some great cities—New York, for example—have divisions called boroughs. But the New York plan is not one for general imitation. It cannot be said that any city has so far worked out a satisfactory solution of the problem. The matter is one calling for experimentation, as well as serious thought and study. The thing to be avoided, therefore, is stratification in the constitution of the state, so as to render needed changes and readjustments impossible. Matters should be left so that changes can be made as experience shall show them to be necessary. It would be most unfortunate if the basic law should outline a borough system so rigid that modifications clearly in the interest of the public could not be effected without the consent of a small group that might be induced to withhold consent through unworthy prejudices or for narrowly selfish reasons. The benefits of complete unification are so great that all parts should join in promoting the project, even at some sacrifice of local pride. On the other hand, the welfare of the larger community, as well as that of the localities themselves, will be advanced by the preservation of local names. Municipalities joining with the larger central city to form a consolidated city and county should be recognized in some way as governmental units of the new system. For one thing, each such former municipality, or the larger ones among them at least, should constitute an administrative improvement district. There should be some way of enabling the citizens of such a district to give expression to public opinion upon matters of local concern to the district for the information and guidance of the governmental authorities.

American city governments have been made unworkable largely through the efforts of constitution makers and charter framers to prescribe with

rigid exactness the processes for dealing with future conditions that cannot be foreseen. There is danger that the provisions about borough government may be of this character.

It is far more important that the central government of the consolidated city and county have full power to satisfy the needs of the different localities comprising the greater entity than it is that such localities have special iron-clad guarantees against possible abuse of power at the hands of the authorities of the consolidated government. The problem is one for the charter framers to work out.

Oakland largely takes the leadership in the movement for city and county consolidation in Alameda county. Municipalities like Berkeley hesitate to join in a merger that may mean loss of identity and of independence to them. Oakland, likewise, is averse to an extension of the limits of San Francisco city and county to absorb the municipalities in Alameda county. It seems to me, however, that the municipalities around San Francisco bay constitute one natural metropolitan community and that the policy of city and county consolidation calls for the merger under one government of all the bay cities.

#### THE LOS ANGELES REPORT

In Los Angeles, the area between the mountains and the sea clearly constitutes a single natural metropolitan area, with many interests in common. The area, with nearly 1,000,000 population, contains 38 municipalities, the largest of which is the city of Los Angeles. It also contains many school districts and other taxing bodies of various sorts. The sentiment for consolidation appears to be strong in Los Angeles. There, as elsewhere, however, suburban communities like Pasadena constitute obstacles to the merger policy.

The taxpayers' association of California, in its report on "City and County Consolidation for Los Angeles," appearing under date of October, 1917, urges the complete consolidation, under the manager form of government, of all the local governing agencies in Los Angeles county. The minimum annual savings to taxpayers from such unification are estimated at \$2,688,519. The gains in efficiency should be of far greater importance than the money savings. Under the plan proposed for Los Angeles by the taxpayers' association of California, the consolidated city and county would have a city council of from 17 to 21 members, elected by districts for a four-year term subject to recall. The council would choose the chief executive, under the title of mayor, but he would be in fact the manager. The mayor would hold office under indefinite tenure, and would have the power to appoint and remove at will all heads of departments, except the comptroller and city clerk, who would be selected by the city council.



# THE EXECUTIVE VS. THE LEGISLATIVE BUDGET<sup>1</sup>

BY FREDERICK P. GRUENBERG<sup>2</sup>

*Philadelphia*

THERE was at least one point of agreement in the papers on the "Executive vs. the Legislative Budget" advocated by Dr. Cleveland<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Fitzpatrick<sup>4</sup> respectively. The debate may have held promise for a complete locking of horns—but there was, we repeat, this one point of agreement: that Prussia furnished the horrible example—it was pointed to by both champions to prove each side of the argument.

That sounds unreasonable, but it leads to the very crux of the story—namely that the divergence of view between the two papers was not so sharply defined as the bloodthirsty spectators—nor for that matter, the gladiators themselves—believed. This is borne out by some significant passages in each paper. For instance, Dr. Cleveland really argued for a modification of our governmental system so as to approach in effect the parliamentary form, and his whole thesis is really very largely dependent on that proposal. Dr. Fitzpatrick was inclined to agree with this rather revolutionary plan, although he was unwilling to have it "decided as an incident to a budget discussion."

Dr. Cleveland's paper showed evidences of careful preparation and, although many paragraphs had a reminiscent flavor to those familiar with his many years of valuable thinking on public questions, his case was well presented and interestingly sustained. Dr. Cleveland opened his remarks by alluding to the huge expenditures in this national emergency—so huge, indeed, that in one year we contemplate spending as much as the federal government has required from the time of our independence, including the cost of five wars. This situation is forcing thought on the need of a national budget and on the kind of a budget we should have.<sup>5</sup>

## SAFE AND EFFICIENT DEMOCRACY DEMANDED

Dr. Cleveland then went on to point out that he is generally credited with favoring an "executive" budget under any and all circumstances, but

<sup>1</sup> Summary of a discussion at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League Detroit, November 22, 1917. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Director of Philadelphia bureau of municipal research.

<sup>3</sup> Formerly director, now a trustee of the New York bureau of municipal research.

<sup>4</sup> Draft administrator for the state of Wisconsin.

<sup>5</sup> The bulk of Dr. Cleveland's address has been separately reprinted in pamphlet form and can be had upon application to him at 226 Devonshire street, Boston.—EDITOR.

that this is not correct as the kind of budget he favors is conditioned upon the kind of government upon which we agree. The speaker then went on to define a budget as "at best only an instrument of control" and by using the metaphor of a governor on an engine pointed out that the type of governor varied according to the type of engine. The engines of government, Dr. Cleveland said, are generally represented by two types: (1) that of the paternalistic Prussian state, and (2) some form of mechanism developed by democracy. The first, he said, had most convincingly shown its efficacy and the world is now awaiting proof that the second type can develop a like efficiency. As Dr. Cleveland put it, the problem of democracy is to build an engine that is "both efficient and safe."

Fortunately, said the speaker, it is not necessary to work in the dark. It is known that "strong executive leadership" is the principle on which the Prussian state is built, while "in its initial planning democracy purposely deprived itself of the benefits" of such leadership. The problem, then, is to secure these benefits and at the same time make the leaders subservient to popular will, and Dr. Cleveland quoted ex-Premier Painlevé in support of this doctrine.

#### ESSENTIALS OF AN EFFICIENT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Dr. Cleveland submitted five essentials in any scheme for gaining these desired ends in a democratic government, viz.: 1. Strong executive leadership; 2. A well disciplined line organization; 3. A highly specialized staff organization; 4. Adequate facilities for inquiry, criticism, discussion, and publicity by a responsible personnel which is independent of the executive; 5. The means of effective control in the hands of the people and their representatives. Dr. Cleveland then went on to say that Prussia had emphasized points 1, 2, and 3; Great Britain 1, 4, and 5. While France had used all five, she had not been able to build it large enough on strong enough to resist Germany. Russia, he said, provided leadership, but neglected the other four desiderata.

Turning to America, Dr. Cleveland pointed out that our most conspicuous constitutional characteristic has been the fear of strong executive leadership. Neither have we developed the line, the staff, the means of independent inquiry nor the means of effective popular control. Thus we have before us the test of whether our machine will prove effective to meet the machine of Prussian autocracy, and it is up to us to develop in our machine the five essentials. The speaker was confident that with our national *esprit de corps* we shall solve the problem.

Turning once more to the specific topic under discussion, Dr. Cleveland made clear that in his opinion an executive budget is neither practical nor even possible under existing conditions in this country, but that given strong executive leadership as the primary essential of efficient organization the executive should prepare the budget and defend it before the leg-

islative body. By requiring "the support of a majority of that body before further supplies are granted" responsiveness to popular will is secured. This procedure as a method of control is effective, Dr. Cleveland went on to say, only when the executive is the prime mover, and where he "can be put on trial to defend his leadership."

The effective line and staff organization follow naturally from a provision for strong executive leadership, but the other two points are essential, viz.: provision for "adequate facilities for independent inquiry, criticism, discussion and publicity" and provision of a "recognized procedure which may at any time be called into operation for the purpose of finding out whether those who are looked to for executive leadership will be supported in any act or proposal brought under critical review by those who oppose, and of determining whether the organized, well disciplined line forces of democracy operating under the staff guidance provided to assist the management is being used in a manner which meets with popular approval."

#### CRUSHING MINORITY CRITICISM

The contrast of the American political system of ruthlessly crushing minority criticism with the parliamentary system was then emphasized, and again Dr. Cleveland pointed out that the question of whether the executive shall frame the budget must be determined by the government we have. We have never had, said the speaker, responsible leadership, responsible criticism, nor a means of securing responsibility to the people.

In France, England, Switzerland, Italy or Japan such a question as this would appear foolish, for since they have this system of responsible government, they look to the executive as a matter of course to frame the budget.

Our system of government being based on a philosophy of distrust, left "prime movers" out of account, so we are now confronted with the problem of what kind of government we really want before we can decide what kind of budget procedure we want. Dr. Cleveland went on to say that if we elect to retain our present form of political machine, he is aligned with those who say the executive should not frame the budget, and he cited President Taft's attempt in 1912 to submit a budget, which still lies pigeonholed in some congressional committee. The experiences of several states were also cited. In these, laws requiring the governor to submit a budget have been ineffective, but under the "constitutional weaknesses of our system . . . such devices as these can prove nothing but expensive encumbrances."

Dr. Cleveland concluded his remarks by pointing out that the practical needs of the war situation have forced congress to make President Wilson a dictator, and that the urgent requirements of the times called for the utilization of the experience of France and England with responsible



executive leadership. Dr. Cleveland felt that we could effect this revolutionary change without a constitutional or even a statutory change. A mere change in the rules of congress providing for the executive's appearance "before the committee of the whole, to give an account of past acts and to explain his proposals for the future" would bring about responsible government.

#### DR. FITZPATRICK'S REMARKS

Dr. Fitzpatrick spoke a little less formally than his predecessor, basing his remarks to some extent on notes, but saying more, it seemed, in rebuttal.

Dr. Fitzpatrick pointed out a very marked difference between the executive budget idea as just presented and the provisions in the proposed constitution of New York and in that of Maryland. These states failed to include all the five essentials named by the previous speaker, said Dr. Fitzpatrick.

The speaker then went on to say that democratic control by change of leaders when the leader in power ceased to retain popular confidence would only be possible through a complete change in our system—in short through the adoption of the parliamentary system.

The next point made by Dr. Fitzpatrick was that "when we decide on the budget we decide on the kind of government we are going to have," but a few minutes later he said that the question of the form of government should not be settled as an incident to the budget discussion, which conflicting views somewhat neutralize each other.

Dr. Fitzpatrick went on to say that, regardless of labels, "if we make the executive the . . . dominating factor . . . we have an autocratic form of government." However, even though the executive may properly take a large part in the budget procedure, we shall have a democratic government if the legislature is the controlling factor.

The speaker then proceeded to say that under the legislative budget idea we should not have Prussian efficiency—and he hoped we shouldn't—but we should have the "best institutions possible—dealing with the American people as they are." "If we are going to sacrifice efficiency or liberty, let us sacrifice efficiency and let us do it willingly."

The next point brought forward by the speaker was a reference to an English critic of Mr. Lloyd George's government on the ground that it is a one-man government with a one-man budget. But even with the extraordinary powers there assumed by one man, "they have democratic control which neither Maryland nor New York offers the people of those states."

In those states, Dr. Fitzpatrick went on to say, we have the nearest approach to the German budget. Germany, he said, "is financed by the executive budget" without which "the German autocracy could never have permeated the German people."

THE MARYLAND BUDGET<sup>6</sup>

Characterizing the propaganda for the executive budget as a "patent medicine campaign," Dr. Fitzpatrick proceeded to poke fun at the defense of Governor Harrington of Maryland against the charge of executive usurpation. He quoted the governor to the effect that as no governor has been re-elected in Maryland since the Civil War there is no such danger. But other states do re-elect governors, the speaker pointed out.

Dr. Fitzpatrick then addressed his remarks to members of the Michigan budget commission present in the room, and warned them against bringing autocracy in at the back door—by means of introducing the executive budget—while the state is sending its boys forth to fight for the safety of democracy.

The speaker challenged the claim that the executive budget would promote executive leadership. It would only muzzle the legislative body, for it would say to them in effect, "You may not increase this item, you may only reduce it." Additional items, he said, would be permitted only at the end of the session, when most of the legislators go home. Under such a system "the governor with a minority of either house can kill anything that a real majority of the legislature wants."

The system would make not for leaders, but autocrats, said Dr. Fitzpatrick, who then proceeded to differentiate between "budget" and "budget proposals." By budget Dr. Fitzpatrick said he meant "the actual money voted to finance the government during the coming year." At this point, the inconsistency of the analogy between the general manager of a business corporation and the executive of an American governmental unit was taken up, and it was shown that while a manager is answerable to his board and may be removed by it, an elected administrator in this country is in office for a fixed term of years.

The proposal that when a difference arises between the executive and the legislative body, such difference be referred to the people for decision was ridiculed by the speaker for the reason that there is no assurance that a re-election will result in a politically harmonious executive and legislature, and again he felt that the proposals of his opponents call for a radical revolution in our scheme of government. Dr. Fitzpatrick adverted briefly to President Butler, and to Messrs. Hughes and Root and intimated that their fear of "direct government" was consistent with the recent "repudiation of the primary in New York" (the Bennett mayoralty nomination incident).

## A RESUMÉ OF DR. FITZPATRICK'S POSITION

Dr. Fitzpatrick wound up his remarks by several clearly defined statements which really seemed to state his views more exactly on practically all the points involved than had any part of the preceding twenty min-

<sup>6</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, pp. 395 and 485.

utes-odd of his talk. These points were to the effect that the speaker favored:

1. Executive preparation of budgets for executive departments; independent "judicial" preparation for the budgets of the judiciary; recognition of administrative commissions as "quasi-judicial bodies," with right to prepare their budgets; independent preparation by the legislature "for the legislature's departments."

2. "Fullest, freest action on proposals" to be given the legislature—freedom to go beyond information submitted by executive.

3. Regarding the budget not "merely as a financial instrument, as an instrument of financial control," but "as a social, political and economic document determining the whole question of education, welfare, and all other things a modern community must deal with."

4. Giving unlimited power if necessary to do so at all to the legislative body rather than to the executive, "for a democracy is safer with an unshackled legislature than with an unshackled executive."

#### A CRITICAL SUMMARY OF BOTH PAPERS

From the foregoing it will be seen that the divergence of view between the debaters was not so marked as the auditor might have supposed. Indeed, to anyone acquainted with the two speakers the differences were much more temperamental and philosophical than due to any really fundamental differences of judgment on, let us say, the technique of the budget. The real differences between the men are patently irreconcilable—the differences between them on the issue at hand were largely eliminated by their own papers.

Of course, the audience (including Dr. Fitzpatrick) all expected Dr. Cleveland to champion that form of executive budget made concrete either in the ill-fated New York constitution or in the new one of Maryland. He did no such thing, but presented instead an admirably thought-out thesis which while not so definite on the subject of the budget as many had hoped, did set forth the topic of strong responsible executive leadership under a parliamentary system. Dr. Cleveland left to the representative body all the final authority in voting supplies that Dr. Fitzpatrick demanded, and on this essential it is impossible to find any difference between the papers. Dr. Fitzpatrick very properly ascribed to some constitutional and statutory programs for an executive budget certain limitations on the legislative body—for instance, on their power to increase or add items—but Dr. Cleveland did not advocate such limitations, not at any rate in this discussion.

Dr. Cleveland's paper was very general, academic perhaps, and by government he meant almost throughout, *national* government, and the leading nations of the world furnished illustrative material. The other paper probably erred in the other direction—that is, it seemed very con-



crete (even personal!) and it conceived government always as meaning a state government and generally it seemed to mean Wisconsin.

Dr. Cleveland hurt the fine scholarly tone of his paper by what one of those who discussed it<sup>7</sup> called an "excursion into the field of botany," but on the whole his contribution will prove a valuable addition to the much-needed thinking on some of the weaknesses, for peace as well as for war, of our governmental machine.

The weakest point to your reviewer, in Dr. Cleveland's whole discussion, was his easy assumption that our fundamental constitutional scheme could be altered without anything more than a change in the rules of congress. A rigid written constitution, deliberately designed to keep equi-poised the judicial, executive and legislative branches of our government, cannot be so easily evaded. True, "answerability," minority interpellation and other external features of the parliamentary system could be created, but forcing a change in the cabinet by withholding supplies would soon invoke the interpretive power of the judicial side of our system, and unless all signs fail they could not but interpret the constitution of the fathers as it is plainly written. To bring about such a revolutionary change as the true parliamentary-ministry system would require a frank effort at constitutional amendment in order to be genuinely effective.

Perhaps the most discouraging thing Dr. Fitzpatrick brought out was the spectre so many of us had hoped was laid—that there is something inherently incompatible between democracy and efficiency. This is too long a theme to be brought into this commentary merely as an incidental topic, but surely we may hope that the cause of efficient democracy is not so soon deserted by one who served in the front ranks as director of the society for the promotion of training for public service!

Dr. Fitzpatrick's comparison of the Maryland budget idea with that of Germany was rather effective although not well buttressed. He might have gone on, without deviating from the truth, to point out that our whole theory of absolute independence of the executive from the representative body is much more akin to the German political system than to the parliamentary.

An amazing liberty was taken by Dr. Fitzpatrick in his definition of "budget" as the "money voted," whereas every recognized student of government finance uses the word to mean proposals, requests, financial programs.

Indeed, both papers were weak in that the budget idea was used exclusively in connection with the *expenditure* side of governmental finance. The importance of that part of the budget that has to do (or ought to have to do) with raising the revenue or borrowing was nowhere emphasized either from the point of view of the so-called "executive" or "legislative" budgets.

<sup>7</sup> R. P. Farley, of the Winnipeg citizens' research league.

## COMMUNITY MUSIC

BY ARTHUR FARWELL

*New York City*

DURING the past few years the term "community music" has come into striking prominence. Musical activities of the people of an unprecedented sort have sprung up everywhere throughout the country and the daily and periodical press has given to these activities an amount of space and attention never accorded to the traditional affairs of the "musical world" of concert, opera and recital. Scarcely any fact in our American life of to-day is more striking than this outburst of the musical idea among the people. Municipal concerts of unusual character, civic music associations, symphony and other concerts at popular prices, pageants and community masques and dramas with music, music school settlements, people's music leagues, community choruses, community orchestras, community Christmas trees with music, "song and light" festivals, these and many others are the forms which the new activities have taken. Such a widespread flowering of the musical idea throughout a great nation which has never before witnessed such a phenomenon is sufficient evidence of the fact that a new and significant principle is operating among us, which it is important to understand and to direct with intelligence.

By way of explanation of these matters, it may be said in a word that this entire movement is the first broad response of democracy to the musical idea. It would, however, be a serious wrong not to add at once to this explanation that the phenomenon has a further significance which must be regarded as spiritual and mystical. Music is a mystical art, dealing with the elusive and intangible stuff of human emotions, and when the mass-emotion of a nation catches fire, with a movement most directly concerned with the emotions, it argues that there is a vast and immeasurable human force seeking expression which, once it is liberated, has a definite part to play in the general evolution of the nation. It is highly significant that this phenomenon should take place at a time of world-upheaval, when the principles and ideals of the nation are pressing for expression and for realization in action. Nothing, excepting religion, with which music is so intimately connected, is so powerful as music, and especially song, in welding the emotions of individuals into the mass-emotion necessary for the carrying of great common objects.

Scarcely anyone will pretend that the community music movement indicates a sudden devotion to the cultivation of the art of music on the part of the people generally, although such a cultivation will undoubtedly be increased by the movement. The man who finds a new joy in singing

weekly with a "community chorus" will seldom give more attention than he did before to the study of music as an art. He simply finds joy in expressing himself, where before he had no opportunity for expression. Nevertheless we must go to the development of the art of music in the United States to find the direct antecedents of the community music movement.

#### ARISTOCRATIC ART

It was not so very long ago, a matter of twenty years or so, that one frequently heard from the devotees of music, that it was essentially an aristocratic art, necessarily to be appreciated only by the few, and that to democratize music would be to ruin the art. From our point of view to-day we see how little faith these persons (and there are a few of them still among us) had in music itself, and in the fact that it must, by virtue of its own nature, ever strive toward and attain at last the high and the beautiful, whether it is the concern of the few or of the many. The anticipation of the confusion in which we find ourselves to-day in this matter appalled them; they could not see, beyond the inevitable artistic night, the dawn which we are now beginning to perceive, of a great movement which is to liberate more truly than ever before the spirit of music among mankind. The corollary of this aristocratic attitude was musical philanthropy. Certain of the great musical organizations handed out a little charity in the form of "wage-earners' concerts," and the astonishing discovery was made that even among the "people" there were those who found something real in the music of the masters.

#### PEOPLE'S SYMPHONY

From that point it was a short step to giving the people a voice and a hand in the management of certain classes of public musical affairs. Series of "people's symphony concerts" and symphony concerts at popular prices were undertaken in many places, sometimes as an extension of the work of existing symphony societies, and sometimes as new organizations. It may be said that the enormous growth of the musical life of the United States along the older lines was preparing the soil for the new movement, especially in the creation of the machinery of musical presentation. The spirit of the new movement, however, did not come from that older musical life and its commercialized and socially restricted affairs, but from the people, and from the growing enlightenment and desire that animated them. And this enlightenment and desire arose in very great measure through the newspaper, the magazine, the movies, the phonograph and the player-piano. Through these channels, ramifying to every community and every element of the community, reaching out to the 97 per cent of the people never reached by concert or opera, the people became informed of the musical doings of the world, and became familiar with music that could mean something to



them beyond the primitive gratifications of popular song and dance music. From the general desire to come closer to the spirit and the deed of music arose the will to create the community music movement.

#### ART AND LIFE

Then arose the need of bridging the gulf between the art of music and the life of the people. The democratic idea had prevailed, but how was it to be realized? At this point the pure ray of musical art splits upon the many faceted prism of American life and thought. As many democratic musical activities now arose as there were people with theories of what was to be done and initiative to carry their ideas into action. These activities were characterized and classified by the degree of their closeness to or departure from the older forms of activity. With some, democracy in music meant nothing more than to set before more of the people the identical productions which constituted the affairs of the restricted musical life of an earlier day. The general thought at first was that there was but one true substance and form of musical activity, namely, the symphony or other high class concert exactly as it had always been known; and that if the people could not partake of this particular kind of feast, then, in the name of musical art, there was no other feast to partake of. All the great music that was to be had already been written; the form in which it was to be presented had already been long established. The people were to come and go—passive and receptive shadows, with no creative part in the transaction.

This idea was altogether too close to the old régime to prosper greatly. Symphony concerts at popular prices, even where the people have a voice in their management, cannot show the way through. The first reason is that most people have never heard symphonies and are not prepared to think that they would like them. To the mass of the people the symphony is supposed to be "high brow" and dry, and to offer a symphony concert at five cents a seat in a community new to the movement would allure but few. Secondly, the conditions under which symphony concerts are commonly given are the product of a social condition foreign to the people generally, who are neither happy nor at home in the diamond horseshoe of either the opera house or concert hall.

#### MUNICIPAL CONCERTS

A thoroughly sympathetic relation of the people to symphony concerts was, however, established at the municipal concerts of New York in Central Park at the beginning of the Gaynor administration in 1910, when the writer, as supervisor of municipal concerts, was enabled to experiment in the matter on a large scale. Here, without having to overcome their prejudices against symphonies to the extent of paying even a small fee, the people could come out and hear them gratis, under

absolutely democratic conditions. The result was the production of a new host of insatiable symphony lovers, so that at the present time popular symphonic concerts at a small price can be given with a measure of success in large halls such as Madison Square Garden.

Municipal concerts afford a much more direct way of reaching the people than do semi-private popular symphonic enterprises. The trouble here is that the authorities in charge of municipal concerts usually are without musical knowledge or ideals, and without faith that the people want something good. Politics is the tomb of music. The New York municipal concerts already referred to presented an unusual opportunity. A degenerate epoch of political band leaders had brought matters to an open scandal in 1909, and the incoming reform administration undertook to rectify the situation. The most radical reform was the substitution of symphony orchestras for bands at the Mall in Central Park, and these concerts quickly became immensely popular and drew great crowds. They were given every night through the summer, and on Sunday afternoons.

The programs included many of the great orchestral works of such composers as Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Tschaiowsky, Wagner and Verdi. "Symphony night," on Wednesdays, became immediately the great function of the week. The crowds were quiet as a church congregation, and aside from ushering duties, the police had nothing to do, and the services of only three or four were required. The great point of knowledge gained from these concerts was that the message of the great composers is for all the people, and in particular that a still little understood law of crowd psychology provides for the short-circuiting of an educational process by a spiritual one; for it was found that such a crowd is unlimited in its receptivity, and under the right conditions receives easily and gladly any great music whatsoever, music in which it would be difficult or impossible to interest the members of the crowd individually. This principle is at the base of all community music enterprise, and its understanding is essential to the success of such endeavor. That it is not generally understood is plentifully evident, and it is still commonly supposed that a long process of education is required before the people can enjoy the music of the masters. It should be said, however, that the great orchestral music of the world is not written with a view to outdoor performance, and that it is therefore essential to provide the best possible acoustic conditions. Either there must be an augmented string section of the orchestra, or a proper reflecting sound shell should be provided. From the democratic and social standpoint, however, municipal concerts present an ideal line of advance, though not until musical considerations, reinforced by the special knowledge referred to, are placed above political manipulation, can the immense possibilities of such concerts be realized.

## CIVIC MUSIC LEAGUES

The extended use of school buildings for community purposes afford also a large field of activity. "People's" and "civic" music leagues and associations, as well as "community centers" are making the greatest use of this opportunity. Free concerts for the people are given by such organizations in school buildings in cities throughout the country. The artists contribute their services or are paid small sums. There is no doubt that the knowledge and enjoyment of good music has been widely extended through such activities, and much done toward creating the soil of a musical nation. The chief criticism which may be made of this phase of the movement is that it is not powerful enough in its effects. The programs are apt to be too slight and the audiences too small for the awakening of emotions and ideals great enough for the needs of the time. The Civic Music Association of Chicago has perhaps canvassed these possibilities as thoroughly as any similar association, with many excellent results, though its activities have extended far beyond the possibilities afforded by the school buildings.

## COMMUNITY PAGEANTS AND MASQUES

A new and all-important principle came into operation with the advent of the community pageant and masque—the participation of the people themselves, instead of their mere presence as auditors. This represented a great step forward in the democratization of the dramatic and musical arts. The movement for the community pageant, usually a local historical celebration, was well under way in 1913. Its antecedents were the English pageants, though while these devoted themselves to the ancient history of their localities, seldom bringing it up closer to the present than four hundred years, the American cities and towns began perforce but one or two hundred years back, and carried the pageant into the present day and its problems, and usually concluded with a symbolical representation of the future. In these pageants the townspeople participated in every conceivable way, dramatically, musically, both instrumentally and chorally, in the dance, in stage management, and in the making of costumes and properties. The result was an extent and intensity of interest beyond anything previously experienced. Every member of the community could be, and a great proportion were, directly active in the production of the pageant. Since its object was the celebration of local history and the stimulating of local pride, it was both interesting and comprehensible to everyone. For a practical everyday community suddenly to discover that it was able to create an immense drama-music-dance art-work of great beauty was a memorable surprise. The pageant has opponents who take the ground that it is a transitory orgy of community endeavor, depleting the community, and leaving no valuable influence or activity in its train. It is doubtful if anyone who

ever took an active part in the production of such a pageant has held this view. A pageant, beautifully carried out, is a great vision, and experience has often shown that both the beholding of and the participation in such a great expression of the communal life has given to the individual life a moment of beauty and expansion which has influenced its entire course and bequeathed to it one of its most joyous and enduring memories and inspirations. It is also almost inevitable that a pageant will leave behind it permanent organizations of various participating groups, such as chorus or orchestra, folk-dance groups, and committees for civic advancement. A community pageant will bring unity of thought and purpose into an ordinary heterogeneous community as almost nothing else will. In the massed finale of the Pageant of Thetford, Vt., one of William Chauncey Langdon's early pageants, an old farmer in the audience was heard to remark, "Well, that's the first time that the town of Thetford ever did anything all together." This pageant served to procure for the northern counties of Vermont an agricultural expert from the government who was instrumental in regenerating a region of abandoned farms. As composer and director of the music for several of Mr. Langdon's pageants, I have had an opportunity of observing the effect of such productions upon the musical activity of different communities, an effect both stimulating and expanding, and unquestionably having a permanent effect upon the musical character and development of the communities.

In a healthful community growth, with respect to such art activities, two elements are necessary, continuous work of a character which need not be at all pretentious, and the occasional flowering of such expression on a scale commensurate with the extent and power of the entire community. Without both these phases in due proportion, a vital element must be lacking, either the continuous effort needful for development, or the life-giving joy of beauty greatly realized and widely shared.

#### DRAMA OF THE PEOPLE

Destined to a development far beyond the usual pageant, in the writer's belief, is the community masque, which passes beyond local meanings and takes the eternal substance of all drama for its province. Local history has limits quickly reached in American life, but there is no limit to the aspiration toward the joy and beauty which is capable of realization through the dramatic art in its broadest sense. The logical dénouement of the developments already operating in America is a drama of the people which shall hold a place similar to that held in ancient Greece by the Greek drama. Music will take a great place in such a form, which will, in fact, be a music-drama of the people, a democratic art-form such as Wagner dreamed (and wrote) of, but which he was prevented from attaining by the fact that he did not get beyond casting his music-drama



in the form of traditional opera. Such a people's music-drama is forecast in the "Grove Plays" of the Bohemian club of San Francisco, which gave the inspiration leading the present writer to his association, as composer, with Percy MacKaye in the production of "Caliban" in 1916 in New York. Here the conception was restricted by the necessity of fitting it into a Shakespearean celebration, but the field suggested by some such form is unlimited in its scope. A new work resulting from the same association, "The Evergreen Tree," a masque for community singing and acting, aims at finding a fitting form for the celebration of Christmas—a work not yet produced.

#### THE MUSIC SCHOOL SETTLEMENT

Coexistent with the other forms of community music activity, and persisting in substantially the same form while many of these have undergone radical modifications, is the music school settlement; in the first instance the school in New York, founded twenty-four years ago, and the many others since established in different cities throughout the country. The object of the music school settlement is to provide musical instruction of the highest order for the many who are not able to pay the prevailing high prices for good instruction. The New York school is now an institution having over one thousand pupils, one hundred teachers, eleven departments and four orchestras. The price of lessons runs from fifteen cents for class lessons to thirty-five and sixty-five cents for individual lessons. The teachers are either those who teach usually for higher prices but who are glad to give a certain number of hours a week to this work at very low prices, or are drawn from the advanced pupils who thus earn their first money and who are glad to get such work even at the small prices which must prevail in an enterprise of this kind. The deficit inevitable in maintaining such a school is made up by voluntary subscriptions, donations and memberships of various kinds, collected under the auspices of a board of managers. The music school settlement of New York is famous for the fervent musical spirit which it has awakened and which it maintains in its pupils, who are drawn not only from the lower east side, where the school is situated, but from remote sections of the city as well. Such work is a permanent constructive force of great value, and a real power in the process of working out a musical democracy; its effects are far-reaching and incalculable.

#### THE COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE

The community Christmas tree, the "Tree of Light" has been a very beautiful popular expression, finding acceptance everywhere, and creating a center for different forms of community music activity. The tree points the way to many developments in the future, in the first place because of its inherent significance, and in the second because it leaves

such freedom in the working out of ceremonies pertaining to it. The "Tree of Light" was first raised in Madison Square, New York, at Christmas, 1912, since when the custom has become national and it is the exception rather than the rule to find an American community without its tree at Christmas time. In 1917 there were trees in all the army camps, twenty with the army in France, and American battleships in English waters had trees lashed to the masts.

#### THE COMMUNITY CHORUS

The latest phase in the course of community music development is the community chorus. The mere fact that this idea has swept the country as has no other phase of the movement indicates that it contains a new and distinctive principle, or that it affords an opportunity for the fuller operation of known principles than does any previous aspect of community music. The community chorus movement was originated by Harry Barnhart some five years ago. He believed that if the people could be brought together to sing, irrespective of all other considerations, entirely democratically, without voice trials or dues, for the joy of song, that a new vision would be gained and a wholly new force liberated in human society. He pointed out the fact that Luther had said that he could not have conducted his reformation without his hymns, with which he unified the people. If this power resided in song, then it must have its own province and mission, irrespective of any particular phase of religion; that a brotherhood of song, rightly conceived, must in fact lead rather than follow the religious idea. Within five years this idea has ramified to every part, almost to every corner of the country, and community singing has outdistanced in scope and reach, among the people, every other aspect of the community music movement.

Song is the primary and most universal musical function of man, and in removing all barriers, academic, traditional, financial, or any other kind, from the singing together of the people, the community chorus has thus at a stroke realized and given full play to the least common denominator, musically, of the people. Coming at a time when the emotions of the people are awakened and united in a great common cause, it has found at hand a condition miraculously adapted to its acceptance and growth. Adding to musical ideals, as such, the ideals of patriotism and the fundamentals of all ontological ideals, of faith (for people cannot sing without faith) and brotherhood, it has touched the imagination of the nation in a manner impossible to all movements presenting merely an expansion of the artistic ideal. Song concentrates the thought and power of the people, and a singing "unit" is a force the scope and effect of which cannot be estimated. This fact need not be allowed to rest on a general assertion; for the New York community chorus alone has given birth to movements already officially

incorporated into the systems of work in operation in building up the new national army.

Much that is happening in the community song movement is as yet sporadic and without understanding or self-consciousness with respect of its nature and mission. But in spite of this fact the vitality of the idea has carried the movement everywhere into existence, and time must elapse before its great meanings can become plain to all.

#### NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY MUSIC

In the spring of 1917 the first National Conference on Community Music was called in New York city by a group of people interested in the movement from different points of view. Mrs. Howard Mansfield of New York presided over the sessions of the conference. Persons interested and active in the movement came from many places, east and west, and almost every conceivable aspect of the movement was presented and discussed by authorities on the various aspects of the subject. This being the first general national recognition of the subject, the general movement for community music, embracing all its different phases, may be said to have been officially born on this occasion. It was here that the matter of community singing in the army camps, since so widely carried out, was introduced by Lee F. Hanmer, of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, and definite action inaugurated.

The community music movement as a whole we thus find taking its point of departure in a past aristocratic condition of musical art, passing into a mass of democratic musical activities having little purpose beyond carrying that same musical art out to more of the people, and at last, in its most widely accepted form, merging upon the spiritual movements of life. What this evolution means to the nation can scarcely be realized at this early period. The awakened men and women of to-day who are interested in these matters must thread their way through the course of the evolution and seek to find the place where evolution is met by revelation. That is the way in which the awakened soul deals with the evolution of human life, and the problem here is no different. The great potential message of music to mankind is not yet understood. We must first engage in bringing music to all mankind, learning quickly the best ways. Not until we have found our way to the spreading of this spiritual feast freely before all, will the greater reasons for doing so become manifest. We are moving rapidly to the goal, and are not far from revelations of the meaning of music to man beyond any which the past has known.

## FUSION MISTAKES AND A WAY OUT

BY JOSEPH M. PRICE<sup>1</sup>

*New York City*

IN REVIEWING the last municipal campaign in New York city, in pointing out the mistakes of Fusion, a distinction must be made between the Fusion government of the last four years and the conduct of the campaign to re-elect it. If an administration in the city of New York deserved re-election, it was that headed by John Purroy Mitchel. No former administration has had as broad an outlook of municipal functions as a whole, or has had as difficult a situation to meet financially in carrying out its projects. It must be recollected that for over three years of the life of this administration there has been waged this great world war. It was building and financing a great new subway system and it had a comprehensive scheme for the development of the railroad situation so intimately bound up in the development of the city as a port. Its conduct of the finances of the city, especially in putting an end to the pernicious system of issuing bonds for things which would be used up before the life of the bond; its limitation of the corporate stock budget; the pay-as-you-go policy, would in a few years have placed the city of New York in an impregnable financial position. Among other great reforms of the administration, one could mention the adoption of the zoning system, which will be of inestimable value to the orderly growth of the city, and which if adopted years ago, would probably have obviated the great fluctuation of realty values in the city of New York; and the adoption of a modern building code. In spite of these things it met with an overwhelming defeat.

### THE QUESTION TO ASK OURSELVES IS WHY

Is it possible for an administration that does these things to be continued in office? Some say we were going too fast in New York city, others, that the real fault of the administration has been its lack of humanizing elements, still others, that in doing these things so many enemies have been made and so much opposition aroused that continued success is impossible.

I do not believe this, and am probably one of a great minority who believe that this administration could have been re-elected. It is true great opposition had been aroused by these things, an organized opposition, but it is a fact that the managers of the last Fusion campaign did not realize the strength of the opposition until it was too late. The influences that dominated the Fusion committee of 1917 from its very beginning

<sup>1</sup> Member executive committee, fusion campaign of 1917.



naturally gave the impression that it was only the moneyed interests that were in favor of the mayor's re-election. The leaders really believed that money could re-elect the mayor, money not to be used for illegal purposes, but money for what they considered legitimate expenses, such as enormous sums for newspaper advertising, printing of pamphlets, billboard advertising, high salaries for expert directors of the various departments, most of which was spent in a perfectly puerile fashion. The point is, those directly responsible for the mayor's campaign had no vision of what the town was thinking about or interested in, nor did they have any political experience in managing municipal affairs or campaigns, though they were all good business men in managing their own affairs.

#### CITIZENS' COMMITTEES

Citizens' committees must make their own way into public confidence, they must justify themselves for their assumption of the direction of affairs. This committee did not secure the public's confidence and the town had no reliance upon its non-partisan character or its independence from party control. In this the town was thoroughly justified by the acts of the leaders in consulting the Republican leaders step by step in the formation of the committees' policies; not once during the campaign or in planning for it was the executive committee of the Fusion committee called together by its chairman for consultation, advice or information as to his plans. If it had been, many of the mistakes made, especially the proposal for spending such enormous sums, might have been obviated. The Republican leaders of the counties that make up Greater New York, care only for being represented on the ticket and except for the mayor, the nominee for president of the board of alderman and several county offices, the entire ticket was dictated by the Republican organization. In Brooklyn there was not a Democrat on the ticket. These facts were pointed out after the nominations by some newspapers friendly to the Fusion cause.

#### LOSS OF THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES

The fatal error, was of course, the loss of the Republican primaries. The excuse given by the Fusion leaders is that they took the advice of the majority of the Republican leaders, as to making a fight in the primaries for Mayor Mitchel. I would just as soon take the advice of the Kaiser as how to conduct the allied campaign on the western front. I would not take hostile advice in political matters.

The loss of the primaries by Mayor Mitchel with its attending irregularities, for which he was not in the least to blame, changed the whole psychology of the city. Before the loss of the primaries it was felt he could not be beaten and the talk was all that way; after the loss of the primaries the talk one heard around, even on the streets, was that "they did not see how he could win."

I believe Tammany Hall can always be beaten in the city of New York with a united opposition. People may say the united vote of Mr. Mitchel and Mr. Bennett was not enough to elect Mitchel. True, but that is not the whole story. The Republican enrollment in Greater New York is over two hundred and fifty thousand, the combined Mitchel and Bennett vote a little over two hundred and twelve thousand, surely fifty thousand votes were cast for Mayor Mitchel by men not enrolled in the Republican party, which leaves the Republican vote for Mitchel about one hundred thousand short of its enrollment. I believe Mayor Mitchel could have had these votes if they had not been alienated by the tactics of the Fusion leaders, for it has been shown that the Republican enrollment is for state and national purposes only, over half of it will vote independently in municipal elections and cannot be controlled by the Republican leaders.

The point I am making is that the Fusion leaders threw away the great asset of a citizens' movement, such as elected Mayor Mitchel four years ago, by dealing in conference with the Republican leaders, submitting to their demands for places on the ticket for votes which they do not control. The committee four years ago nominated a ticket and told the Republican organization to take it or leave it. The excuse for this year's procedure was that the Republican organization had not recovered from the sores of four years ago and therefore must be the primary consideration this year. The fact is, a ticket dominated by the Republican organization cannot win in the city of New York, and the only hope they have to get anything is by their endorsing a citizens' ticket, not in dominating it.

Everything we have gained in our struggles in New York city for the last twenty years in having the citizens themselves nominate their ticket has been lost.

#### THE NEED FOR A MUNICIPAL PARTY

In view of these facts and an important new factor, I have come to the conclusion that the time is ripe for the formation of a permanent municipal movement, call it by any name you like, party, committee or league. I have previously been opposed to this, for the reason that I have been doubtful as to keeping it alive without patronage, which is the life of most political organizations. I believe, however, we now should be willing to risk this, for we have learned a great deal in this city since the Van Wyck administration of 1898-1901, as there has grown up a body of men who can be banded together that know city affairs and are working out municipal problems on a basis of "know your city."

The important "new factor" is the granting of votes to women in New York. The progressive women in New York city have taken an active interest in municipal affairs for years past. Here is a large body of new

voters not yet aligned politically that could be brought into a purely municipal party and should be an antidote to the patronage seeker and a great influence in guiding the city along progressive lines, by giving them a place where they can work for their city on an entirely non-partisan basis.

#### THE NEED FOR A MUNICIPAL PROGRAM

Such an organization will stand or fall upon its municipal program. American political tradition has been that we should have a two-party government, why not a two-party government in municipal affairs as well as state and national affairs, but not dominated by national or state political lines, but upon the lines of municipal, social and economic progress. Such a party when the time came for the nomination of a city ticket should be absolutely non-partisan (as far as national parties are concerned) in its selection and should have no hesitancy in renominating a member of the sitting administration, if it believed he had made good in office; it should always be in a position to criticize the acts of the administration, friend or foe, and offer helpful and constructive suggestions. It would not, like the Fusion committee of 1917, work upon a municipal platform for two months, then hastily whip it into shape in two days, never again to be heard of during the progress of the campaign. Such a body would become acquainted with the needs and interests of the various sections of a great city like New York. It would build up a band of disinterested citizens who would work sincerely for its success, have a place where the young men and women could find vent for their civic enthusiasm; it would do away with trying in the last few weeks of a campaign to effect a working organization; it would know before the beginning of the campaign which were "strike" organizations and which among them had merit; it would do away with financing various combinations of labor, nationality, race and color, to which so much time and money is devoted in a hastily constructed campaign organization; it would conduct between elections a speaking campaign of education, for reform must rest upon the intelligent understanding of the average citizen.

Such an organization need not entirely do away with the formation of a citizens' committee, but it would certainly obviate the necessity of it and would certainly prohibit the formation of any committee that was not a real citizens' committee. We must not forget that the other man believes in "good government" as much as we do, but he believes it can be secured in a different way. To be successful in our municipal movements, we must get that other man, he is the "average citizen": if we don't, we will never make a permanent success. I believe he can be gotten.

## THE RECENT NEW YORK CITY FUSION CAMPAIGN

BY RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL<sup>1</sup>

*Brooklyn*

**A**FTER a political turn-over so sweeping as was the recent election in New York city, it hardly seems profitable to speculate upon the relatively slight variations in result which might have flowed from different methods of campaign management.

The make-up of the Fusion committee of 1917 did not differ very radically from that of similar committees in previous years. It contained fully as much ability and political experience. It was a larger committee than usual, and had about the customary proportion of wealthy and prominent men. No two Fusion committees have been exactly alike, and this one contained a larger proportion than is usual of men closely allied with the Republican organization. The reason for this was obvious. The renomination of Mayor Mitchel—a Democrat—seemed like a foregone conclusion, and special consideration had to be given to the securing of Republican support.

### LOSS OF THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES

As a matter of fact the one serious mistake in campaign management was the failure to get the mayor to make a direct personal appeal in the Republican primaries. The direct city primaries were a new feature. No previous Fusion movement had had to deal with them. It was realized that the Tammany Republicans—men hostile to the mayor for failure to get patronage and other political favors—as well as many who had been turned against him by certain sensational newspapers, would make a showing in these primaries. Even those Republican leaders, however, who were thoroughly loyal to Fusion were inclined not to take the Bennett candidacy very seriously and advised against having the mayor conduct personally a primary campaign. The losing of these primaries was a complete surprise to the community. It revealed for the first time the bitterness of the opposition to Mayor Mitchel and gave some indication of the unusual lines of cleavage among the voters and of the deep undercurrents of feeling which were about to sweep the Fusion government out of existence. While there is little doubt that had the Bennett primary campaign been taken more seriously Mayor Mitchel would have had the official Republican nomination, Tammany would surely still have scored a complete victory.

Aside from its misjudgment of the Republican primary situation the

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Ingersoll was superintendent of parks in Brooklyn under Mayor Mitchel.



Fusion committee showed considerable ability in organizing and handling the campaign. It did not and could not create the chief issues, either by emphasizing the platform or otherwise. They already existed in the history of the administration, in the unusual conditions and feelings growing out of the war and in the personality and public attitude of the mayor and other leading candidates.

#### A SERIES OF ACCIDENTS

New Yorkers have been rightly proud of the steady improvement of civic standards since the days of Van Wyck and have believed that a complete reversion could not occur. However, anyone familiar with our city campaigns knows that the improvement in government was helped along greatly by a series of accidents. Eight years ago the effort to secure a complete fusion failed. But at the last minute the Hearst forces were persuaded by a hair's breadth to endorse the proposed Fusion ticket, with exception of the candidate for mayor. This action secured for the first time a Fusion majority in the board of estimate—in spite of the easy election of Judge Gaynor, the Tammany nominee for mayor. Four years later, Mayor Mitchel was elected largely as an outcome of Tammany's impeachment of Governor Sulzer and of the effective way in which this Tammany schism was played up in a spectacular individual campaign conducted by John P. Hennessy. Even with the exceptional circumstances of that year, and with Hearst supporting the Fusion mayoralty candidate, there would have been no Fusion victory had not the sudden death of Mayor Gaynor, after Tammany's refusal to renominate him and his nomination on a separate independent ticket, consolidated all anti-Tammany forces.

Prior to the election of 1917 the chances and accidents of politics were, on the other hand, highly unfavorable. Neither these accidents, however, nor any particular policies or methods of the Fusion committee could account for the great wave of popular feeling which showed itself at the polls. It might be added that no Tammany campaign within memory has seemed so weak and uninspiring as the campaign of last fall. But the popular mind had been set against Mayor Mitchel—in spite of all his unusual achievements—to a degree which could be little affected during a brief campaign.

#### VOTING ACCORDING TO RESENTMENTS

Even more than is usually the case, the votes appear to have been cast according to resentments. The only Tammany candidate who appeared to rouse any enthusiasm was Al. Smith, candidate for president of the board of aldermen. Yet Smith ran behind his less known colleagues on the city ticket because no one felt any special bitterness against his opponent.

It would not be difficult to enumerate the more important causes which produced the hysterical atmosphere of the 1917 campaign. They were such as to defy the best efforts of any campaign committee. Any very searching analysis of them, however, would only tend to keep open sores which should be allowed to heal.

Owing chiefly to large previous commitments, the administration had been obliged to make rather drastic reductions in expenditures, without any hope of securing thereby a lessening of current taxation. This was a thankless task. Individual antagonisms arising from retrenchment outweighed the approval of those who take an intelligent interest in effective administration. The number of persons adversely affected by thorough-going administrative reforms may not be relatively great, but these persons often make up in velocity of action what they lack in mass. Life in a city of 5,000,000 is so complex that comparatively few can really be made to comprehend such constructive governmental civic and social work as was done by the mayor's great departments.

The most far-reaching antagonisms against Mayor Mitchel were unquestionably the passions growing out of the public charities dispute, the unfortunate divisions of feeling created by war conditions—including opposition to the draft, discontent with war prices, and special personal antagonism among the large Teutonic population, usually opposed to Tammany—and the popular theory that the mayor was in some special sense a representative of the rich. This last feature had been worked up systematically by the Hearst newspapers for many months before the campaign started. It was seized upon and spread by large masses of voters whose opposition had already arisen out of the charities controversy and out of conditions produced by the war but who preferred not to openly base their campaign upon those issues.

To all appearances Tammany conducted a lifeless campaign. Its candidate for mayor presented no clearly defined issues. He read all his speeches and seemed to create enthusiasm nowhere. Nevertheless, his nomination had been shrewdly planned for a campaign in which an accumulation of resentments against the mayor was to be the main reliance. His residence in Brooklyn helped in some measure to obscure his Tammany connections. It was also advantageous in that the mayor was less known in Brooklyn than in Manhattan, and that opposition to the mayor had arisen in that borough on a number of local issues. Hylan's personality was in complete contrast. His administration would mean an all-round reversal of methods. His past life and all his connections were such as to be satisfactory to the various elements whose special grounds of opposition have been mentioned here. He contrasted well both with the real Mayor Mitchel and with the distorted caricature of the mayor so skillfully prepared for campaign uses.

# DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

## I. BOOK REVIEWS

COMMUNITY: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY. By R. M. Maciver, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.75.

In this work the author has set for himself an ambitious task. The study entails nothing of the minute; little of that which is local or merely contemporary. It is an effort to state and to describe the operation and development of the laws that seem to lie at the basis of the communal life of man. The author says in his preface, "In an early essay I remarked that there was no definite science of society beyond that contained in such specific studies as economics and politics. That view I now believe to be wholly mistaken, and I hope that this present volume adds one to the many disproofs of it revealed by the recent progress of the subject. . . . The greater portion of the work is concerned with what seem to the author to be the fundamental laws of social development." It is yet another courageous venture in man's age old search for unity.

While believing that the sum of man's life shall not be told by "tramway statistics alone" the author seeks no *deus ex machina* to help the erstwhile baffled pen over the "hard places" in the great drama of which he writes. The laws are not to be found outside the life of man superimposed from an alien source to govern inexorably his conduct with his fellow-men. Instead, they have their being in the minds of men, and are products of actions which men will. Men have a will to action, a will to seek the gratification of interests, and out of these, laws of common life and development come into being—and have their being. Into the question whence comes the will to action the reader is not led.

The interests of men are the source of all social activity, we are told, and community has its origin in the common in-

terests of men. Further "the interests realizable in community outweigh the dissociating interests realizable by conflict and thus the permanence of community is assured." Armed with this assurance the vital question of the "reality of communal development" is considered. As criteria of development, the author cites, "the power to understand and estimate the claims of others in comparison with our own, the power to enter into relation with an ever-wider community, and to enter into more and more complex relations with his fellows and his sense of responsibility towards others within these relations." With these in mind, an appeal to history is made. The fallacies of "the golden ages of old" and "the noble savage" are laid bare. In short, measuring history by the above *criteria* we find "the essential progress of men . . . certain and verifiable." It is interesting to read in the preface that the work was written before the advent of the war. Yet the work has been published, a proof that he feels he has not erred in his judgment of history.

Of laws of development of community he finds three: the first, the most fundamental of all, he finds to be that, "Socialization and individualization are the two sides of a single process," a thing so obvious that "its true place" of importance has not been accorded it. In connection with this law he considers the problem of "the co-ordination of community and the problem of the unity of the individual life." "The power which inherited property retains as a determinant of social function" is the "chief obstacle" in the way of co-ordination of classes for the further development of community. In fact, the economic status of the individual is held to be of fundamental importance in the determination of all communal development. Yet we find him avoiding

the barren fields of economic determinism. The second law he finds to be the progressive "correlation of socialization and communal economy." In a word he says, "Men. . . . compete more readily than they fight, and they co-operate more than they compete. . . . The law of success is the law of co-operation." But as cataclysmic events attest, this shall not be made law by the stroke of the pen. The third law of communal development he finds to be "the correlation of socialization and the control of environment." Briefly he holds that the increasing control of environment is secured chiefly through the increase of social co-operation. Finally, the operation of these laws establishes a unity that underlies all the forms of communal development.

Few, perhaps, will deny the existence of these laws or tendencies of development. Fewer still will have courage to believe that man's destiny lies in the hands of blind chance or pitiless determinism. Yet many there are that may deny the unity of purpose which these laws seem to postulate. While admitting the existence of the laws they will contend that social life in its unfolding looses new and yet more terrible forms of divergent and dissociating interests, which ever cloud the vision of a "great society" beyond. The answer will not be written by any one hand. All our statistics and our "data" cannot alone afford an answer. The answer—at least a partial answer—is being written with blood and infinite pain by the peoples of the earth on the battle-fields of Europe.

One cannot but commend the sincerity and the fine care which Professor Maciver has brought to his task. While he lays claim to the discovery of no new continents, he treads a way that is yet beset with pitfalls—and escapes them if it is, on a few occasions, seemingly by a narrow margin. The work suffers from a certain abstractness and lack of sufficient illustrative material, these features being thrown into relief by the excellence of the illustrative material that is employed. The very scope of the task, however, must mitigate against such criticism. The

"attempt," as the author humbly terms his work, is well worthy of a place of honor among the books that help to "push back the unknown" and will in all probability retain such place.

L. E. CARTER.

*Western Reserve University.*



THE NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM AND AMERICAN FINANCE. By C. W. Collins. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 151. \$1.25.

An interesting and concise presentation of the American financial chaos is just from the press. In handling this subject, especially at this time, Mr. Collins deserves thanks. He has given the man with an hour or so to spare an opportunity to know what other democracies have done, what a "budget system" is, how simply it can be introduced, why it will end the "pork barrel" and make every dollar spent by the government go where it is most needed and give a dollar's worth of service. The first section of the book outlines the budget systems of England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Japan.

In the second section of the book, Mr. Collins deals with the "undemocratic and vicious" (p. 97) American financial system. This section is written with a keener understanding of the living organism and less adherence to the constitutional husks of government. Mr. Collins is now at home. After showing with concrete instances that the estimates from the departments do not form the basis of the appropriations, that 29 committees are concerned with the budgetary business of congress, that a unified plan is not attempted, that "log-rolling" and "pork-barrels" are inherent in our present lack-of-system, and that the only auditing we have is done by a branch of the executive department, he brings us to the conclusion that we need a national budget system.

His solution is for the president to prepare the budget after consultation with the party leaders and the heads of departments, using the treasury department as his staff agency. This budget is to be sub-



mitted to congress, and there defended by the executive departments. To make the president unalterably responsible, the budget can only be adopted, decreased, or rejected by the legislature. In case of rejection, the Swiss system is followed, and the executive prepares an amended budget to meet the demands of the legislature. To control spending and to audit accounts, Mr. Collins suggests making the comptroller of the treasury an independent and non-political officer responsible to congress, where a committee of accounts with a chairman from the minority would check executive usurpation. This entire program, he shows, can be secured with very little difficulty, as far as the law and the constitution go. The change of five rules of the senate and house would turn the trick.

To those who fear the new powers of the president and the break-down of the division of powers, Mr. Collins says with unusual candor for a lawyer, "The president already participates in legislation and actually exercises the legislative initiative while the judiciary legislates constructively by interpretation and application of statutes. The adoption of the national budget system would carry us just one one step further in the direction we are already going" (p. 109).

The one feature of this constructive program which the student of the budget would question is the methods of solving a deadlock between the president and congress. It is a bit surprising to see a man who is so appreciative of group pressures pass over this most crucial point with such confidence. The Swiss analogy seems to have a few unconvincing features, for there is no national government with less partisan political activity than the Swiss, and no governmental system so unfitted to arouse partisan enthusiasm as an indirectly elected plural executive. The contrasts with our process of government are of more importance than the similarities. And further than that, when the president and congress disagree is the precise time that we wish to keep the issue clear-cut and the responsibilities unfused. To salve over the differences and

bury the hatchet will certainly dissipate responsibility. Is there any genuine solution for such a *political* deadlock short of an appeal to the final political authority?

But whether Mr. Collins' program is the final solution or not, it is the next step. It is in the right direction. His clear and concise volume deserves a wide reading.

LUTHER H. GULICK, 3rd.

*Washington, D. C.*

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HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Eldon Cobb Evans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 102.

Dr. Evans gives the history of the Australian ballot not only in the United States but in Australia and England and prints in full the text of the original act for the province of South Australia, which is not to be found elsewhere in print in this country, it is believed. Professor John H. Wigmore's book, "Australian Ballot System," has only the South Australia electoral act of 1879 which condenses and revises the original of 1857.

Dr. Evans' dissertation contains an illuminating account of voting before the introduction of the Australian ballot which is both humorous and, from a democratic point of view, pathetic. He gives the story as "commonly reported" of the W. W. Dudley expenditure of \$100,000 in Indiana in 1888 for organizing "floaters in blocks of five"—a story which I have verified from a near relative of this Mr. Dudley, living in the state at the time.

Dr. Evans shows that the predictions of a political millennium have not been fulfilled. That was to be expected by all sane persons, but some failures, which he points out, are due more to defective ballot laws inviting evasions of secrecy, rather than to the system itself when embodied in sound legislation.

This paper contains good samples of the two competing kinds of ballots—the office group as in vogue in Massachusetts and the party column. A table shows that the Massachusetts system is used in good form in 15 states, in two others with a

party circle for a one cross vote for all party candidates, and 26 states have the party column plan. The paper contains also a valuable chapter on the attitude of the courts.

Dr. Evans groups together the objections and the answers that were made at the time of the introduction of the Australian ballot system in the United States and in England, but it seems strange he did not show how the objections were answered in the eating of the pudding, especially as quite extensive data have been published showing how those objections have vanished into thin air in actual practice.

The secret ballot system was in operation in Australia 16 years before it was enacted in the British parliament and 16 years in England before it was adopted in the United States. The Hon. Joseph Chamberlain stated that he believed the reason the secret ballot was called the "Australian" here was because of the unpopularity of British institutions in our country. I called his attention to Australia's prior claim to the title, as a matter of history.

The article is timely, valuable and carefully prepared. Dr. Evans concludes as follows: "It may be said that the Australian ballot is a decided advance toward a realization of true democratic government. While not completely destroying the evils of the unofficial ballot, it mitigated those evils. It has cleared away the obstacles which formerly prevented a free expression of the public will. It has made good government possible if the electors really want it."

RICHARD H. DANA.

*Cambridge, Mass.*



SELF-SURVEYS BY COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. By William H. Allen, Ph.D. Educational Survey Series. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company.

"Either we have been to college and are grateful or we have not been and are disappointed or we are thankful for having escaped." This and more says Dr. Allen

in his handbook on self-surveys by colleges and universities. The American people spend something like \$500,000,000 a year on higher education among the six hundred or more colleges and universities in the land, but no longer does it suffice for the hundreds of thousands of students attending these institutions to depend with olden time reliance upon their ultimate college or university halo for community recognition. Keener and keener is the competition that has grown up among the colleges and universities and other activities. Donors and taxpayers are asking more and more for concrete results from the faith that has been placed in these educational institutions. Students about to invest time, money and opportunity, are beginning to apply the principles of scientific selection in picking out their college and training ground. The experience of private business is repeating itself in the world of higher education.

To keep pace with the changing conditions, every college and every department within the college is coming to see that it must continuously and progressively study itself. To raise questions is the purpose of Dr. Allen in this book. "The starting point for common knowledge," he says, "is common questioning. No one can know the answers until the self-surveys are made." Readers who dislike thinking for themselves will find the book uncomfortable. The author, in his brilliant, analytical way, relentlessly asks questions about subjects which it is hoped will help trustees and students answer questions that are being widely asked about such phases of college and university life as: the effect of foundations upon colleges and universities; how president and faculty deal with one another; use and non-use of college space; effects of research upon teaching efficiency; methods of appealing and publicity; academic vacations; national conventions for trustees; co-education and segregation of the sexes; personality and selection of instructors; observation of class room instruction; lecture and over-

lecture; English as taught and practiced; learning by doing; citizenship courses; keeping in touch with alumni; student cost of living; and education scapegoats. In form the book presents itself as a series of expositions, disquisitions, illustrations, arraignments, questionnaires (with blank spaces and pages for answers) under the following captions: the survey movement in higher education; procedure for a co-operative college survey; relation of president and faculty to trustees; faculty government; extra-curricular activities of students; courses of study; instructional efficiency; and relation with college communities.

MURRAY GROSS.

*Philadelphia.*

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#### STATE GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA.

By Samuel B. Scott. Philadelphia: The Harper Press. \$1.50.

Mr. Scott has given in these 272 pages, a good, readable account of the actual workings of the government of the Keystone state. Free from technical details and language and therefore easy of understanding, every effort has been made to secure accuracy. Its chief importance, however, lies in the fact that it is designed to aid those who desire to take an intelli-

gent and effective part in the public affairs of the commonwealth. Surcharged with the modern civic and social spirit, Mr. Scott writes out of a full and useful experience as one of the secretaries of the old municipal league of Philadelphia, a present director of the city club of Philadelphia, and an independent member of the Pennsylvania house of representatives.

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#### DISASTERS AND THE AMERICAN RED

CROSS IN DISASTER RELIEF. By J. Byron Deacon. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 75 cents.

The periodicity of disasters gives this volume in the "Social Work Series" a practical as well as a historical value. Mr. Deacon asserts that they do come; that no place is immune; that each year, whether in war or in peace, not less than one half dozen big catastrophes—floods, city-wide fires, mine explosions, tornadoes, shipwrecks—are bound to occur. The necessity of this volume was strikingly demonstrated by the fact that its proof sheets were ready on the very day of the appalling Halifax disaster, and its advice and experience thus made immediately available. The chapters are brief and based on first hand material not available hitherto in any form.

## II. BOOKS RECEIVED

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. 1916. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1917.

THE BOOK OF NEW YORK. By Robert Hungerford. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co. \$2.50.

COMMUNITY CIVICS. By R. O. Hughes. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. 505. \$1.25.

CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING. By W. W. Cumberland, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Minnesota. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. Pp. 226. \$1.50.

THE DAWN OF A NEW PATRIOTISM. A Training Course in Citizenship. By John D. Hunt. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd. Pp. 353.

FRANCE BEARS THE BURDEN. By Granville Fortescue. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 214. \$1.25.

GOOD HOUSING THAT PAYS. A Study of the Aims and the Accomplishments of the Octavia Hill Association, 1896-1917. By Fullerton L. Waldo. Philadelphia: The Harper Press. Pp. 126.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING. By Frederic C. Howe. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 275. \$1.50.

HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. By Joseph Schafer, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 323. \$2.25.

IMPORTANT FEDERAL LAWS. Compiled by John A. Lapp, LL.D. Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen & Company. Pp. 933, with supplement. 1917.

INCOME TAX LAW AND ACCOUNTING, 1918. By Godfrey N. Nelson. Second edition. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 364. \$2.50.

MARKETING AND HOUSE WORK MANUAL. By S. Agnes Donham. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. Pp. 241. \$1.50.

NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK, 1916. Prepared under instructions of the Government of New Zealand, by Malcolm Fraser, Government Statistician. Wellington, New Zealand: Marcus F. Marks, Government Printer. Pp. 710.

OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA. Statistics for Period 1901-1916. No. 10, 1917. Prepared by G. H. Knibbs, Commonwealth Statistician. Melbourne: McCarron, Bird & Company.

THE PLAY MOVEMENT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. By Henry S. Curtis, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 346. Illustrated. \$1.50.

PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE RETIREMENT OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES. By Lewis Merriam. New York: D. Appleton & Company. Published for the Institute of Government Research. Pp. 476. \$2.75 net.

RURAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT. By Thomas Adams. Ottawa, Canada: Commission of Conservation. 1917. Pp. 281.

THEORIES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS. By Arthur James Todd, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 579.

WHERE THE GREAT CITY STANDS: A STUDY IN THE NEW CIVICS. By C. R. Ashbee. London: The Essex House Press, 37 Cheyne Walk. £1 1 s. net.

### III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS.

Annual Report of the Police Department of New York City.—The report of the New York police department for the year 1916, issued as of the date August 1 of that year, is at hand. It is well worthy the careful study of students of social progress. Such a study shows how the police force of our largest American city is broadening its functions with the enactment of new laws by our legislatures and their interpretation by our courts. Fifty years ago the activities of an American police department were fully summarized by a statement of the arrests made by it. Those arrests covered only a portion, less than one half, of the offenses for which the police are now required to be on the lookout. Thus of the 200,901 New York arrests in 1916, 122,944, or more than 61 per cent, were for offenses against regulations for public health, public safety and public policy. Of these specified arrests, nearly if not quite 100,000 were for misdemeanors or felonies not recognized by the statutes nor known to the police before 1860. These arrests for new offenses created by modern statutes mark one doubling of the field of police activity in the period which separates the time when Fernando Wood was mayor of New York and Arthur Woods was commissioner of police.

Again we note that in making these arrests for offenses unknown to the police of a half century ago, the New York

patrolmen aided 122,345 persons such as the sick, injured, lost children, etc. This branch of current police helpfulness, once rarely exercised, constitutes a greater volume of activity than the arrests for offenses known to the police of the days of Fernando Wood.

Attention is called to these statistics of the given report to show how the average policeman is becoming a friend and helper of large numbers of those needing his assistance. Police departments are everywhere becoming more and more imbued with the spirit of helpfulness and co-operation. No statistics are available at the present time to exhibit fully the practical results of this new spirit. Something of that spirit can be seen in the benefits arising from wise modern traffic regulations and the kindly, even if dictatorial directions of traffic policemen. It is also evidenced by the efforts of the police to educate the public to prevent accidents, to facilitate transportation and in numberless kindred ways.

A most striking field in which this helpful service of modern police departments is exercised is that which is connected with the organization and direction of junior police. The 10,000 adult policemen of New York are now assisted by and associated with 4,000 boys known as the junior police. These boys are organized in 22 different police precincts and are by the police given instruction in military



and athletics as well as in civil government and good conduct. The boys are helped to a good time, trained in the duties of citizenship, and made helpers. The police are beginning to establish good relations with the boys, who 50 years ago were their natural and bitter enemies. In this way they are organizing good order and the observance of law on its most durable foundation. Further, by turning the city hoodlums into city guardians, the police are organizing a movement which in time will do more to decrease juvenile and adult delinquency than can be attained by juvenile arrests, juvenile courts and juvenile prisons whether known as reform schools or by other designations.

With the broadening of the field of his activity the average policeman is brought more and more in contact and co-operation with the well disposed in their several cities. Relatively, he has less to do with the criminal and law-breaking classes. In this way the police as a body are changing front, and it is becoming more difficult with the passage of the years to prostitute the police as a body to base purposes; and more possible to make the police force a power for social reform and genuine democratic progress.

Cannot someone with the records available contrast some of the earlier police reports of New York city with this last one, and by such contrast bring out in detail the story of the evolution of the good side of modern police activity? Such a story if well written will bring out the fact that with the passage of years and its enlargement of the field of police activities, the policemen of New York have been gradually converted into true social servants and active agents of democracy in achieving a more efficient municipal government. The writer also believes that such a study, if well made, will afford a ground for a civic faith that the New York police will be better directed in the future than in the past, even though reform commissioners like Arthur Woods are displaced by the exigencies of Tammany politics.

L. G. POWERS.

*Washington, D. C.*

**Direct Primaries in New Jersey.**—It was about time somebody told us what direct primaries have been doing to further the cause of representative government. Until Dr. Boots<sup>1</sup> made his study of the direct primary in New Jersey, most of the evidence in the case consisted of nearly equal parts of enthusiasm for and aversion to this change in the system of making party nominations. Under the direction of the New Jersey state chamber of commerce, Dr. Boots conducted a study of the system in New Jersey, which is unique in its thoroughness and impartiality.

Counties of typical population, urban, rural and mixed, were selected for intensive study, and investigators were sent to these counties to examine the official data for the purpose of determining the extent of participation in the primary before 1908 and thereafter. Similar studies were made of the character and political responsibility of the primary nominees and the cost of elections. Opinions on the various phases of the subject were obtained from municipal clerks, auditors, county chairmen, county clerks and representatives of the commercial organizations.

Dr. Boots has found that, contrary to early promises, the direct primary has not materially increased the participation of even party voters in primary elections; that in but 3 per cent of all cases have contests arisen to justify such participation and that the party organizations practically control the choice of candidates as formerly. It has been found that the legal requirement that each voter declare his party affiliation in order to vote at the primary has driven many voters away. As to the cost of primary candidacy, few records were available, but it was the opinion of most of the persons consulted, that the direct primary had materially increased the expenditures on the part of the candidates themselves. The author found also little evidence to support a conclusion that the type of officials elected to public office under the

<sup>1</sup> *The Direct Primary in New Jersey.* Ralph Simpson Boots. New York, 1917. Privately published.

direct primary system had been materially improved.

Apparently the chief service which the direct primary has served in New Jersey, at least, is that of giving to the voters of the party an opportunity to oppose the organization slate whenever they might so desire and give their support to independent candidates.

Since this book was written, an independent organization, inspired principally by the anti-saloon forces and favoring local option in liquor matters, has conducted a successful election for members of the assembly from Essex county. The contest involved the expenditure of a very considerable amount of money and much intensive organization and campaigning. Dr. Boots does not by any means minimize the value of the direct primary system, but his study of the subject gives rather cold comfort to those who a few years ago offered the direct primary as the solution for most of the current political ills.

The author favors the adoption of a method of selecting the party organization which will make that organization responsible and responsive to the party voters. He also favors the provision of some simple and effective means whereby those party voters who do not approve of the organization nominees may, if they desire, call for a contest and support independent candidates.

This puts the direct primary in a rather new light as something for emergency use after the general plan and conception of the initiative, referendum and recall. That is to say, parties are to be given control while they behave themselves, but there should always be a gun behind the door with which to bring them to time. Governor Hughes in New York seems to have had somewhat the same conception of this institution.

The New Jersey state chamber of commerce, for whom Dr. Boots prepared this study, is doing some exceedingly effective work in the investigation of state government. The organization, unfortunately, is not as well known among political scientists and practical investigators as it

should be, possibly because of its own somewhat misleading (though perfectly appropriate) name, which seems to indicate a commercial rather than a research agency.

H. S. GILBERTSON.



Widows' Pension Legislation<sup>1</sup> is the subject of a recent number of *Municipal Research*. Chapter one contains a brief historical statement of the origin of the principle of mothers' pensions in several of the states and a discussion of the experience of the cities of San Francisco, Kansas City, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Louis. There is also a cursory review of the laws of the various states which may very well have been omitted in view of the comprehensive tabular digest of the mothers' pension laws of twenty-eight states which is inserted at the end of chapter one. This digest, by the way, should be credited to the legislative reference section, New York state library, as Legislation Bulletin no. 41. In his historical discussion of the New York law the author states that "The act is not mandatory but permissive." This statement is but half true. The act is altogether mandatory as to the creation and organization of boards of child welfare but is permissive as to payments, the boards of supervisors not being compelled by the law to make appropriations.

In chapter two the "significance of pensions" is discussed from the standpoint of theory. Not being satisfied with the usual theories, the author analyzes the laws themselves and finds these four reasons for enacting widows' pension laws: (1) To endow motherhood; (2) to indemnify widows for their widowhood; (3) to furnish relief because of poverty or need; (4) the conservation of childhood. Rejecting the first three, he holds the fourth to be the real motive.

The problems of administering widows' pension laws are discussed in chapters three and four. "The task of the admin-

<sup>1</sup> Widows' Pension Legislation. Bulletin no. 85, May, 1917. Bureau of municipal research and training school for public service, New York city.

istrator is essentially one of planning and standardizing welfare for certain classes of children and then proceeding to install those plans and standards." The pension is not allowed without investigation which calls for: "(a) social data; (b) vocational data; (c) physical data; and (d) financial data." These four general groups are subject to further division showing in detail the numerous questions that enter into each individual case. "This plan of intensive investigation and verification may appear formidable . . . but nothing can be more dangerous or destructive to the progress of the entire pension movement than lax methods in investigation."

Thoroughgoing administration, however, waits upon effective organization. Co-operation is desired between private charities and local boards and between these instrumentalities and a state board. Four present forms of organization are noted: (1) the overseers of the poor; (2) the juvenile courts; (3) the school authorities; and (4) child welfare boards. None of these, however, are entirely satisfactory.

The concluding chapters present a criticism of the provisions of the New York law and its administration. The law itself is held to be little more than a "temporary expedient" and a number of weak points are noted. With respect to the administration of the law it is held "that the time has not yet come for a thorough evaluation of widows' pension work in New York state."

As a serious study dealing with "widows' pension legislation" one would expect to see considered all laws on the subject enacted to date. No attempt appears to have been made to discuss legislation subsequent to 1915. The author might have found something of interest in the Maryland act of 1916 and in the laws of Arizona, Delaware, Maine, Texas, Vermont and West Virginia enacted in 1917. There is also a noticeable lack of bibliographical data.

WILLIAM E. HANNAN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Legislative reference librarian, New York state library.

**The Kansas State Printing Plant.**—For more than a dozen years, all printing for the various Kansas state officers, boards and institutions has been done at the state's own printing plant at Topeka, and so satisfactory have been the results that any proposition to return to the former method of handling state printing would be overwhelmingly defeated by the voters.

Prior to 1905, the public printing was done at the office of a state printer, named by the legislature and paid according to a schedule of prices fixed by statute. This scale was sufficiently generous to make the office one of the most coveted within the gift of the state. With the growth of the state departments, the amount of work done by the printer naturally increased, with the result that the emoluments of the office enjoyed a proportionate expansion.

The first move toward a more economical method of handling this work was made in 1903, when the legislature submitted to the voters a constitutional amendment placing the state printer on a straight salary. This proposition carried in the general election of 1904 and the following January, the legislature fixed the salary at \$2,500 a year and provided for the establishment of a state printing plant.

Grounds and building cost the state \$36,000, and the equipment approximately \$75,000. In 1913, the legislature enlarged the sphere of the plant's usefulness by authorizing state publication of textbooks and voted an appropriation of \$150,000 for the purchase of additional ground, the enlargement of the building and the installation of necessary new equipment.

That this measure carried easily indicates the success of the plant. Tables showing the cost of stock and of printing during the last seven years under the old system and during the first seven years under the new proved a most effective argument as to the ability of the state to handle the additional work satisfactorily and economically. That the amount of work done in the latter seven-year period was much greater is evident from the fact

that \$27,005.19 more was spent for stock than during the last seven years under the old system; but in spite of this, the printing cost was \$193,098.04 less, enough to replace the entire plant and leave a handsome surplus.

With the addition of school book publication to its field of activity, the state printing plant is effecting even greater savings. This work has been taken up gradually. W. C. Austin, state printer at the time of the adoption of the system, installed the book-making machinery and printed the first Kansas textbooks. The present state printer, W. R. Smith, succeeded him and his administration has been marked by the successful development of this feature of the work.

Kansas had enjoyed uniform textbooks for years, the adoptions being made under five-year contracts. After the adoption of state publication, as these contracts expired, plans were made for doing the work in most cases at the state plant. Now, one of the high school texts and all of the grade school texts, with the exception of the geographies, are published at the state plant.

While this work is still in its infancy, more than two million finished volumes have been produced and other orders in course of fulfilment will swell this total a half million more. In addition, 325,000 writing texts were furnished by the plant in 1917. Some idea of the number of persons benefited by this work is gained from the statement that more than a million and a quarter volumes were sold to Kansas pupils in the first half of the present fiscal year and the saving to them was about \$200,000.

State publication has not only not interfered with the completion of other state printing, but it has increased the efficiency of the plant, making it possible to maintain a larger force of skilled operatives and a lower manufacturing cost. It has resulted in school books being furnished to the pupils at prices averaging 40 per cent less than those charged by book companies, even under five-year contracts.

The state, in publishing school books, supplies them at cost but in fixing the

price on the book, every item of cost is included, so that the taxpayers are not taxed to make up a saving to purchasers of textbooks. The reason for the price made by the state being lower than that fixed by private companies is that the state charges no profit and its marketing cost is much less. No attempt is made to save money by slighting the quality, and the texts compare favorably with any that can be obtained for the same grades.

With the increase in the amount of printing required by the seventy-odd departments, boards and institutions it serves, its savings are proportionately larger. When the saving on textbooks is added, the plant saves enough to replace itself every three years. Some years it does much more. A conservative estimate shows that the saving on the work done this past year was enough to replace the entire plant, grounds, building and equipment.

W. R. SMITH.<sup>1</sup>

What is a House?<sup>2</sup>—Last fall the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* sent Mr. Ackerman to England to learn what had been done there to meet the housing shortage in munition centers. England's problem was enough like that which confronts America to-day to make it well worth while to study her experience. This pamphlet is the result of Mr. Ackerman's trip. It contains an argument for house building as a federal government enterprise, discusses British pre-war methods, and then takes up the British war-housing program. This is illustrated by a number of drawings and floor plans of the cottages the British government has erected for its war workers. Several pages are devoted to a description of the present housing situation in the United States which ends with the following "Synopsis of a program for the United States":

First, create a central body with

(a) Powers to acquire land under authority equal to that created by the

<sup>1</sup> State printer, Topeka.

<sup>2</sup> By Frederick L. Ackerman. Published by the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*. Washington, D. C. 52 pp.



Defense of the Realm Act. The final disposition of property need not now be treated.

(b) Powers to survey needs for housing facilities and to determine, in co-operation with a central priority board, the relative importance of industrial operations.

(c) Powers to design and construct communities where the needs of such have been made evident by the survey.

(d) Powers to operate and manage these communities during the war, and for a few years thereafter, along lines of policy similar to that expressed by what is known as the co-partnership tenants or public utility societies in England.

(e) Powers to maintain a high standard of physical well-being in munition plants (adopting the standards set by our most progressive industrial corporations) and to organize community activities within the communities thus created.

The second step:

Create a commission to study the final disposition of these properties. Such a commission should consider such questions as:

(a) The organization of local non-profit corporations to manage and develop the communities created during the war.

(b) The saving of the appreciation of land values for the benefit of the community as a whole.

(c) The establishment of the part of the cost which should be written off as belonging to the cost of the war.

(d) The basis upon which such communities could be transferred to municipalities, or non-profit corporations.

During the fall and winter the *Journal* has devoted a large part of its space to a discussion the housing situation in America, the pamphlet noted above being only a part of its campaign.

JOHN IHLDER.



The Buckeye Land Company, a subsidiary of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, is seeking to decrease the labor turnover of the parent company by building houses for employees. Like most other industrial concerns building houses, the Buckeye company is doing it not from desire but from necessity. Consequently it is seeking to reduce the task to the simplest possible terms, and, according to one of its officials, these are pretty simple. But so far as the evidence goes he has in mind only the building of the houses, not

their management. The greater number of the houses the company proposes to sell as rapidly as possible.

This Youngstown work has two distinct parts. First, there is a colony of group or terrace houses on some 40 acres. Each family will have three or four rooms, one of which will be on the ground floor. Each house will have water, sewer and electric light. Adjoining each house will be space for a small garden. The buildings are of pre-cast concrete slabs, walls lathed and plastered, wooden floors over concrete, and tile roofs. The purpose is to make them fireproof and vermin proof. It is hoped to rent them for from \$12 to \$16 per month—the company believes that it should receive at least 5 per cent net on its investment. These houses are for aliens exclusively. Their prospective tenants are men earning a minimum wage of \$19.50 per week.

The second development is both larger and more pretentious. It will occupy a tract of 219 acres and, in the words of the manager, will be "a town for people who live on an American standard." The description of the site indicates that it is attractive. John Nolen and Morris Knowles who have been retained to develop the area may be counted upon to make the most of its natural advantages. The houses here are to be sold to the employees of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company whose minimum wage is \$25 per week.

Seemingly the Buckeye management, like many another at the beginning of a housing undertaking, has thought of it only in terms of house building. Admittedly that is comparatively simple—provided one can get the capital, the materials and the labor. But even if it succeeds in selling all the houses in the American town as fast as they are finished, it still proposes to retain and rent those in the alien colony. It will be interesting to learn, five or six years from now, whether it has succeeded in this management to such an extent as to be enthusiastic over the results, or whether its tone will then be apologetic. And will the task still seem "pretty simple"? J. I

**Housing Conditions in the City of St. Paul.**—If one were to begin this report without expectations and were to read without questioning, he would, whether a citizen of St. Paul or not, find it an interesting volume. It is well printed, well illustrated and contains many tables and a number of graphs. It takes up the principal phases of bad housing and gives a clear statement as to conditions found by the investigators. After reading it no one can doubt that St. Paul, like every other city that has been investigated, contains all the things that go to make up bad housing. What distinguishes St. Paul from other cities, as it does any city one chooses from every other, is that the emphasis is different. Of course that is about all the difference possible in a world where the results of human activity are usually varying shades of gray instead of being either black or white. So there would be no reason for disappointment if one had no expectations. The report proves that St. Paul has bad housing, some of it very bad. So clearly does it prove this that the author feels impelled to state his hope "that the citizens of St. Paul will not take the unpleasant facts revealed in this report as intended to disparage either the potential or actual merits of St. Paul as an industrial or residential center." Surely there is no cause to fear such a conclusion. Did not equally proud—and quite equally attractive—Minneapolis a few years ago take a look at its back yard and learn facts quite as unpleasant? The result has not been disaster, as St. Paul knows. Rather the contrary. Minneapolis secured a housing law similar to the one Dr. Aronovici recommends for St. Paul and its real estate men have ever since been regular attendants at housing conferences.

J. I.

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**Paving Inspection by Civic League of Cleveland.**—The street paving committee of the civic league of Cleveland has per-

formed a valuable service to the citizens and taxpayers of Cleveland by supplementing the city's inspectional service. During the season of 1917 the league's engineer and inspectors kept in constant touch with the city's 48 paving inspectors, making daily visits to the various jobs, keeping a record of each inspector's work, and making a full report concerning each man to the league's committee.

"Marked improvements during the season have been noted everywhere," the committee reports in the January *Civic Affairs*. "A number of inspectors, who, at the beginning of the season, were inclined to be late on the job in the morning and inattentive to the work, have, after a few reports and reminders, become prompt and attentive to their work. Some, who at the beginning of the year were indifferent, have become first class inspectors."

One of the results of the league's inspection work has been the appointment of a committee of engineers to draft a street code for Cleveland. Most cities have building codes, fire codes, health codes and the like, but so far as is known not a single city has attempted to frame a compact and complete code covering the important work of street construction, maintenance and regulation.

Cleveland is in particular need of such a code. Although the present charter has been in force four years, no ordinances have been framed and adopted properly organizing the engineering and street divisions and distributing the functions relating to street construction and maintenance. Regulations governing the location, construction and maintenance of pipes, lines and conduits under the streets are totally inadequate. Little attention is paid to the preparation of permanent maps, plans and records of subsurface structures. Too little effort is being made to improve the appearance of street fixtures by regulating their use and location, and avoiding, wherever possible, duplication of fixtures.

Although it is appreciated that the problem of drafting such a code presents many difficulties, the evident need and the

<sup>1</sup> Report presented to the housing commission of the St. Paul association. By Carol Aronovici, Ph.D., director of social service, Amherst H. Wilder Charity. 120 pp.

seriousness of the present situation seem to justify the effort.

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#### Minnesota's Codified Children's Laws.

The first state to adopt a comprehensive legislative code affecting children is Minnesota. It is a striking tribute to the forces for public welfare in that state that an unpaid commission appointed by the governor in 1916, and with only a small appropriation at its disposal, should have submitted to the legislature in February, 1917, a complete revision of the state's child welfare legislation; and more striking perhaps that of the forty-one separate bills submitted thirty-five were passed practically intact.

The children's bureau of the state board of control at St. Paul now comes along in September with the finished product published in a pamphlet volume entitled "Compilation of Laws of Minnesota Relating to Children." It is edited by William W. Hodson, the attorney who acted as executive secretary for the commission.

Although Ohio in 1913 was the first state to start the movement for codifying children's laws, Minnesota has gone much further, by dealing not only with state agencies, but county and municipal as well. The whole range of activities for children in the state has been thoroughly overhauled and definitely interrelated. State administrative supervision is admirably combined with local autonomy of counties and cities. To Judge Edward F. Waite of Minneapolis, judge of the juvenile court and chairman of the commission, is due much of the credit for the statesmanship of this most significant piece of state legislation for children.

The code is part of a new national movement for uniform standards in all the states. Work is now under way in some ten states, Missouri and Minnesota being the first to publish a report and to secure action.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

✱

A North Carolina Club Yearbook for 1916-1917,<sup>1</sup> devoted to the wealth and

welfare work in North Carolina, has been published by the University of North Carolina. It is an effective summary of the forces and agencies that are "making or marring, creating or crippling North Carolina to-day." It differs from the usual yearbook in many respects, but most importantly in frankly facing the actual condition of affairs and suggesting ways and means for improvement. It is of more interest and value to students of state and county government than to students of municipal government, for municipalities do not bulk large in North Carolina, although there are a number of urban communities that are developing at a lively rate. The handbook is issued under the auspices of the bureau of extension of the University, of which Dr. E. C. Branson is the intelligent and effective director.

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The American Society of Municipal Improvements did not hold its convention in 1917 on account of the war. It was decided, however, by the executive committee to gather the papers and committee reports that would have been presented at the convention and publish them in sections during the year. The first instalment has been issued containing papers dealing with sewage, forms of contract for unusual construction, street improvements, and the reports of the committees on water works and water supply, sidewalks and street designs, also the report of the secretary, whose address is now Bloomington, Illinois. The transactions are copyrighted.

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City Planning in Sacramento.—Abundant illustrations from European city planning characterizes the second annual report of the California state capital planning commission. The work at Sacramento began with a committee of five in the chamber of commerce. Under the late Charles Mulford Robinson and afterward Werner Hegemann, the committee was increased to 150. This was followed by the engagement of Dr. John Nolen, whose city plan was written into the municipal code. The city, meantime, had

<sup>1</sup> Chapel Hill, N. C. 25 cents, postpaid.

acquired nearly 900 acres of municipal park. Then came the creation by the legislature of a state commission to develop Sacramento under the Nolen plan as a model capital. The second annual report of this commission is now ready for distribution. Free copies may be had by addressing State Librarian M. J. Ferguson, Sacramento, California.

✱

"Good Government," the official organ of the National Civil Service Reform

League, appears in new form beginning with the January issue. It now consists of 16 pages, pamphlet size, double column. Not only has the typography been greatly improved, but the matter is presented in a much more lively and effective way. The chief emphasis of the number is given to the federal service. It is to be hoped that in future numbers the movement in cities, counties and states will receive larger consideration than has heretofore been the case.

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<sup>1</sup>Edited by Miss Alice M. Holden, Wellesley College.

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**WHITTEN (R. H.).** Report to the Committee on City Plan. Contentment made that control should be exercised over erection of buildings within lines of proposed streets. (Record and Guide, Dec. 15, 1917: 771-772.)

A Digest of the papers and discussions of the first meeting of the American City Planning Institute, held in New York City on November 24, 1917, is published in the December issue of The City Plan. The time of the meeting was spent largely in considering the experience of New York City with its zoning law.

**Contracts**

GRANT (F. W.). Preliminaries to taking bids and letting contracts. Parts 1-2. (Amer. Architect, Dec. 12, 26, 1917: 424-426; 471-472. illus.)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY. GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION. Provisional outline [of course in] cost inspection [for government contracts]; with topical list of readings. 1917. 14 pp. typewritten.

**Courts**

LAUER (E. J.). Conciliation and arbitration in the Municipal Court of the City of New York. (Amer. City, Jan., 1918: 23-24.)

NEW YORK COUNTY LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION. Report of the Committee on Practice and Procedure in the Municipal Court. May 3, 1917. [6 pp.]

**Education**

See also Americanization, Auditing, Schools, Vocational Education.

ABBOTT (EDITH), and BRECKINRIDGE (S. P.). Truancy and non-attendance in the Chicago schools. A study of the social aspects of the compulsory education and child labor legislation of Illinois. 1917. 472 pp.

ANON. Use of the "movies" in education. (Bul., Natl. Assn. of Corp'n. Schools, Jan., 1918: 9-17.)

ANON. Works schools: a sinister suggestion. (Athenaeum, Dec., 1917: 639-640.)

Refers to vocational training as provided in the recent Education Bill in England.

ANON. Rural education. III. Central and Continuation Schools. (Athenaeum, Dec., 1917: 645-647.)

BOMHITT (FRANKLIN). The plan of measuring educational efficiency in Bay City. (Elementary School Jour., Jan., 1918: 343-356. charts, tables.)

DARRAH (DAVID). Field work as a new educational principle. (Educ. Rev., Jan., 1918: 20-29.)

GRUENBERG (B. C.). The functions and organization of a bureau of information and investigation for the Department of Education in New York City. (School and Society, Dec. 22, 1917: 728-733.)

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE. Rainbow promises of progress in education. Nov., 1917. 88 pp. illus.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CORPORATION SCHOOLS. Fifth annual convention: addresses, reports, bibliographies and discussions. Buffalo, N. Y., June 5-8, 1917. 1917. 893 pp.

Contains a good deal of material on education.

PERRY (A. C., JR.). The problem confronting the new Board of Education of the City of New York. Nov., 1917. 11 pp.

Mr. Perry is District Superintendent of Schools.

TALBOT (ANNA H.). The work-study-plan plan vs. the old time formalism. (Educ., Dec. 1917: 197-204.)

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. The money value of education, by A. C. Ellis. 1917. 52 pp. diagrs. (Bul., 1917, no. 22.)

**Elevators**

ELEVATOR MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES. Uniform regulations for the construction and installation of passenger and freight elevators. Adopted Oct. 12, 1917. 47 pp.

Mr. Martin G. McLaughlin, 120 Fulton St., Boston, Mass., is chairman of the committee in charge of these regulations.

**Fire Protection**

ADAMSON (ROBERT). Reducing a city's fire waste: a problem in public education. (Amer. City, Dec., 1917: 507-510. illus.)

ANON. Fire apparatus operation. [Tables.] (Mun. Jour., Dec. 15 and 22, 1917, Jan. 5, 1918.)

ANON. Gasoline consumption by fire apparatus. Average miles run per gallon last year by each kind of apparatus in each of two hundred and fifty cities. (Mun. Jour., Dec. 29, 1917: 430-432.)

ANON. Auxiliary fire equipment [Tables.] (Mun. Jour., Jan. 12 and 19, 1918: 36-37; 56-58.)

ANON. City payments for fire protection. (Mun. Jour., Jan. 26, 1918: 76-78. tables.)

A compilation based on reports of the U. S. Census Bureau.

GILLETTE (J. C.). Factory fire protection [with discussion]. (Jour., Cleveland Engrg. Soc., Nov., 1917: 165-185.)

HULL (W. A.). Comparison of heat-insulating properties of materials used in fire-resistive construction [with discussion]. (Proceedings, Amer. Soc. for Testing Materials, June, 1917. Pt. 2, 424-452. illus.)

MASSACHUSETTS. JOINT SPECIAL RECESS COMMITTEE ON BUILDING LEGISLATION. Report relative to fire protection in schoolhouses, Jan., 1917. 1917. 41 pp. (Sen. doc. no. 340.)

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Regulations governing the installation of automatic and open sprinkler equipments recommended by the National Fire Protection Association. 1917. 77 pp.

**Food Supply**

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE. The world's food. C. L. King, ed. 1917. 313 pp. (Annals, Nov., 1917.)

MASSACHUSETTS. STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. The food of working women in Boston. An investigation by the Department of Research, Women's Edu-

cational and Industrial Union, Boston, Lucile Eaves, director, in coöperation with the State Department of Health. 1917. 213 pp.

NEW YORK ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR. The adequacy and economy of some city dietaries; by H. C. Sherman and L. H. Gillett. 1917. 32 pp. diagrs. (Pubn. no. 121.)

PACK (C. L.). Urban and suburban food production: its past and its future. 1917. 4 pp.

Published by the National Emergency Food Garden Commission, Maryland Bldg., Washington, D. C.

### Health Insurance

See also Pensions.

ALEXANDER (M. W.). Some vital facts and considerations in respect to compulsory health insurance. 1917. 15 pp.

ANDREWS (J. B.). Progress toward health insurance. 1917. 8 pp.

Reprinted from Reports and Addresses of the National Conference of Social Work, 1917.

BRADLEY (R. M.). Health insurance and the medical profession—from the financial and administrative point of view. (Boston Med. and Surg. Jour., Nov. 15, 1917: 698-700.)

### Housing

See also City Planning.

ACKERMAN (F. L.). What is a house? Our national obligation. The story of England's colossal work in building workmen's houses as a prerequisite to maximum output of war munitions, and as a part of her program of social and economic reconstruction after the war. 1917. 52 pp., plans.

Reprinted from the December issue of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects.

ALDRIDGE (HENRY R.). Housing and town planning in 1917. (Mun. Jour. (London), Jan. 4, 1918: 11-12.)

ANON. Building a town to house three thousand shipbuilders. (Engrg. News-Record, Jan. 31, 1918: 227-230. illus.)

The industrial town laid out by the U. S. Shipbuilding Board at Bristol, Pa.

ANON. Government housing scheme. Well Hall, Eltham, Kent. [1917.] 28 pp., plates, diagrs.

Extract from Journal of the American Institute of Architects.

CINCINNATI BETTER HOUSING LEAGUE. Home, health, happiness. [1917.] 20 pp. illus.

This pamphlet is designed to instruct the poorer classes in the fundamentals of good housing conditions.

CONNECTICUT MILLS COMPANY. The village beautiful. Better wages, better homes at the Connecticut Mills, Danielson, Conn. [12 pp.], plates.

—, The village beautiful for mill operatives; it pays, and why. [16 pp.] plates.

FEISS (P. L.). The Cleveland Homes Company; a plan for housing Cleveland's workers. An address before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Oct. 9, 1917. 1917. 9 pp.

FORSTER (H. W.). Industrial housing. (Jour., Engrs'. Club of Philadelphia, Jan., 1918: 18-21.)

Discusses the problem now confronting the principal industrial centers.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY. DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ETHICS. Low-cost cottage construction in America. A study based on the housing collection in the Harvard Social Museum, by Winthrop A. Hamlin. 1917. 30 pp., charts.

LASKER (BRUNO). The housing of war workers. Lessons from British experience for the fulfilment of an urgent task. (Survey, Jan. 5, 1918: 390-397. illus.)

NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION. Housing problems in America. Proceedings of the sixth National Conference on Housing, Chicago, Oct. 15, 16 and 17, 1917. 1917. 462 pp.

—, A war emergency in housing. Letter to President Wilson [and report of Committee on War Time Housing]. Nov. 30, 1917. 8 pp.

### Institutions

See also Food Supply, Public Health.

BARDWELL (FRANCIS). Standards of almshouse administration. Necessities may be demanded, comforts asked for, reasonable pleasures hoped for—Difficulty of attaining uniform standards—Principles of legislation—Necessity of individual investigation and work. (Modern Hospital, Dec., 1917: 393-397.)

HORNSBY (J. A.). Standardization of hospitals—class VI, large municipal hospitals. Creation of medical staff through competitive examination first great forward move—All other departments benefit—Political control the curse of public institutions—The story of the Cook County Hospital, Chicago, as an illustration. (Modern Hospital, Dec., 1917: 409-412. illus.)

MASSACHUSETTS. JOINT SPECIAL RECESS COMMITTEE ON BUILDING LEGISLATION. Report upon a plan for a uniform building scheme for the institutions in which the feeble-minded and insane of the commonwealth are confined, including the construction, alteration and maintenance of said buildings. n. d. 12 pp. (Sen. doc. no. 332.)

MINNESOTA. STATE BOARD OF CONTROL. High cost of living in state institutions critically analyzed [and remedies suggested], by George W. Beach. 1917. 16 pp.

NASCHER (I. L.). The institutional care of the aged. (Proceedings, Natl. Conf. of Social Work, 1917: 350-356.)

POLLOCK (H. M.) and FURBUSH (E. M.). Insane, feeble-minded, epileptics and inebriates in institutions in the United States, Jan. 1, 1917. (Mental Hygiene, Oct., 1917: 548-566.)

### Labor

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION. Review of labor legislation of 1917. Sept., 1917. 618 pp. (Amer. Labor Leg. Rev., v. 7, no. 3.)

CALIFORNIA COMMONWEALTH CLUB. Industrial unrest. (Transactions, Dec., 1917: 481-529.)

A report of the Club's discussions on labor troubles and the high cost of living.

MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. Readjustment and operation of industry in England since 1914. A [detailed summary] report of five conferences between employers [of New York City, northern New Jersey and Connecticut] and representatives of the British Ministry of Munitions, Nov., 1917. 28 pp.

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS. Industrial unrest in Great Britain. Reprints. 1. Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Unrest. 2. Interim report of the Reconstruction Committee, on joint standing industrial councils. Oct., 1917. 240 pp. (Bul. no. 237.)

### Legislation

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION. Tentative review of 1917 legislation; report of the Committee on Noteworthy Changes in Statute Law. 1917: 64 pp.

### Lighting

See also Public Utilities.

ILLUMINATING ENGINEERING SOCIETY. Report of the Committee on Progress. (Trans., Nov. 20, 1917: 344-407.)

MASSACHUSETTS. BOARD OF GAS AND ELECTRIC LIGHT COMMISSIONERS. Report of an investigation relative to establishing a calorific standard for gas, under chapter 167, General Acts of 1916, by C. D. Jenkins. 1917. 77 pp.

POWELL (A. L.). The lighting of New York City's new \$3,000,000 garbage disposal plant. (Gen. Elec. Rev., Dec., 1917: 964-967. illus.)

ROSE (S. L. E.) and BUTLER (H. E.). Street lighting with modern electric illuminants. (Gen. Elec. Rev., Dec., 1917: 945-963. illus.)

"This article amounts practically to a handbook on street illumination, covering both incandescent and arc lamps from the illumination standpoint, and enables anyone having to do with street lighting to compare different units on the basis of illumination."

STICKNEY (G. H.). Illuminating engineering publicity. (Trans., Illuminating Engrg. Soc., Nov. 20, 1917: 219-343.)

UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF STAND-

ARDS. Gas-mantle lighting conditions in ten large cities in the United States, by R. S. McBride and C. E. Reinicker. Oct. 29, 1917. 37 pp. (Technologic papers no. 99.)

### Liquor License

CHICAGO. CITY COUNCIL. COMMITTEE ON LICENSE. Report . . . on the public licensing, regulation and control of the liquor traffic in Boston and New York City. Dec., 1917. 58 pp.

### Markets

FOSTER (H. M.). Food middleman presents his own case. His contention is that every proposed substitute contains him in disguise—Solution of the problem in community co-operation. Dec. 16, 1917. [1 p.]

Extract from New York Times Magazine, Dec. 16, 1917, p. 11. Author is general manager of the New York Wholesale Grocers' Assn.

INDIANA. UNIVERSITY. Co-operative retail delivery. The organization and methods of central delivery systems, by W. S. Bittner. Sept., 1917. 30 pp. (Bul., Extension Div.)

POWELL (T. C.). Scientific marketing. Remarks at a meeting of the Traffic Club of New York, Oct. 30, 1917. 14 pp.

WELD (L. D. H.) and others. Marketing survey of New Haven; conducted for the Town and City Improvement Committee of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce. 52 pp.

### Milk Distribution

See also Accounting.

BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. The milk question in New England. An investigation of the cost of producing milk in New England and its distribution in Boston, with recommendations. Dec., 1917. 57 pp.

CHICAGO. CITY COUNCIL. Report on the more economic distribution and delivery of milk in the City of Chicago, by the Committee on Health. Dec. 3, 1917. 15 pp. (Mun. Ref. Bul. no. 8.)

PHILADELPHIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE. Milk and its distribution in Philadelphia. 1917. 12 pp. illus. (Educ. Pam. no. 8.)

### Municipal Government and Administration

See also Annexation, Charters, City Planning, Public Health, Public Service, Purchasing.

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, AKRON, OHIO. Report on standardization of salaries and grades for the City of Akron, with recommendations. Nov., 1917. 43 pp. Mimeographed.

COMMISSION OF CONSERVATION, CANADA. Urban and rural development. Report of conference held at Winnipeg, May 28-30, 1917. 1917. 98 pp.

Mr. James White is Deputy Head of the Commission, whose headquarters are at Ottawa.



CUSHMAN (ROBERT E). American municipalities in war time. I. (Amer. Municipalities, Jan., 1918: 109-113.)

The first part of a paper read before the Ill. Municipal League in Dec., 1917.

NEW ORLEANS. MAYOR. Martin Behrman[']s administration [and] biography, 1904-1916. 1917. 144 pp. illus.

This volume was issued as a souvenir of Mayor Behrman's twelfth anniversary as Mayor of New Orleans.

NEW YORK CITY. BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN. Lecture delivered on October 10, 1917, by J. W. Adams, Secretary of the Borough, as the first of a course of lectures on borough government arranged by the Committee on Education of the Welfare Committee of the Borough of Manhattan. 1917. 4 pp. typewritten.

PETERSON (A. EVERETT) and EDWARDS (GEORGE W.). New York as an eighteenth century municipality. Part 1: prior to 1731. Part 2: 1731-1776. 1917. 259 pp., plates.

REED COLLEGE RECORD (Portland, Ore.). A statistical study of American cities. 41 pp. (No. 27, Dec., 1917.)

Contains interesting graphs for 36 cities showing their respective standing as to rates of wages, deaths, infant mortality, proportion of population married, church membership, child labor, parks, pavement, fire loss, public properties, school attendance, illiteracy, etc.

The Toronto Annual, 1917. Issued with the approval of the Mayor and the Board of Control, by Heaton's Annual Publishing Co. 1917. 104 pp.

WOMAN'S CLUB OF MINNEAPOLIS. Brief outline of the Minneapolis city government. Prepared by the Social Economics Department. 1917. 32 pp.

### Municipal Ownership

See also Markets.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP LEAGUE OF AMERICA. Municipal electric light and power plants in the United States and Canada, by Carl D. Thompson. 1917. 149 pp. (Bul. no. 1.)

Copies may be had (price, 50 cents) from the League's Secretary, Dr. Carl D. Thompson, 4131 N. Keeler Ave., Chicago.

THIEME (T. F.). Municipal ownership—the salvation of our cities—some objections [refuted]. (N. J. Municipalities, Dec., 1917: 12-13.)

### Parks

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PARK SUPERINTENDENTS. Report of Committee on Standard Cost Records. (Parks and Recreation, Oct., 1917: 36-40.)

Parks and Recreation is the newly established official organ of the American Association of Park Superintendents. The Managing Editor is Roland W. Cotterill, Seattle, Washington.

### Pensions

See also Health Insurance.

BUSH (S. P.). Special report on old age pensions. (Proceedings, Natl. Assn.

of Mfrs. of the U. S. of Amer., May 14-16, 1917: 43-64.)

CITIZENS' RESEARCH LEAGUE OF WINNIPEG. Your forgotten liability of \$700,000 for pensions. Jan., 1918. 10 pp. (Bul. no. 6.)

### Police

GRIFFITHS (A. E.). The ideal policeman. An address read before Washington State Conference of Social Welfare, June 1 and 2, 1916. [1917.] [8 pp.]

Reprinted from New Jersey Municipalities, Sept., 1917.

MASSACHUSETTS. SPECIAL COMMISSION ON CONSTABULARY AND STATE POLICE. Report. Jan., 1917. 43 pp. (House no. 539.)

MAYO (KATHERINE). Cherry Valley. A true story of state police. (Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1918: 175-181.)

WOODS (ARTHUR). The police department of New York City. Pt. 2. (Modern City, Dec., 1917: 16-20. illus.)

### Ports and Terminals

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PORT AUTHORITIES. Selected bibliography on ports and harbors and their administration, laws, finance, equipment and engineering, compiled by William J. Barney, Secretary. Aug., 1916. 144 pp.

BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. The Port of Boston; its problems. A summary of the situation, made by P. T. Cherington for the Joint Sub-committee on Lighterage. Nov., 1917. 35 pp.

See the Review for Jan., 1918, p. 84.

CROSSLAND (JAMES). The placing, design, and arrangement of railway terminals [with discussion]. (Papers and Discussions, Town Planning Institute, 1915-16. 1917 29-47 pp. illus.)

FRENCH (J. B.). The development of car float transfer bridges in New York Harbor. 1917. 58-76 pp. illus.

Reprinted from Proceedings of the Connecticut Society of Civil Engineers for 1917.

HARDING (H. McL.). Harbor and port terminal facilities and works. 1917. 11 pp., plates.

Paper presented before the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, 1915-16.

REA (SAMUEL). What the Pennsylvania Station is to New York City. Nov. 28, 1917. [4 pp.]

This is an open letter by the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad System, published in "Information," a bulletin issued by the company. Mr. Rea writes in reply to an editorial in the New York Evening Mail, which asserted that the construction of the Pennsylvania Station, in the center of New York City, by a single railroad system, was an economic error.

STANFORD (C. W.). Handling freight on New York's new steamship pier. Equipment details for Forty-sixth Street wharf on Hudson River represent latest ideas of steamship men. (Engrg. News-Record, Dec. 6, 1917: 1058-1060. illus.)

TOMKINS (CALVIN). War and transportation. Address before the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Sept. 11, 1917. [4 pp.]

The world's greatest port. I. The public interest, by Hon. C. S. Whitman. II. A gigantic freight transfer, by Hon. W. E. Edge. III. Organizing New York's port facilities, by Irving T. Bush. (Am. Rev. of Revs., Feb., 1918: 168-170.)

#### Power Plants

HARDING (LOUIS A.) and WILLARD (ARTHUR C.). Mechanical equipment of buildings. A reference book for engineers and architects. v. 2. Power plants and refrigeration. 1917. 759 pp. diagrs.

SLOAN (H.). The electrically operated ice plant [with discussion]. (Jour., Amer. Soc. of Refrigerating Engrs., Nov., 1917: 269-297. diagrs.)

WOLFF (MARK). Pumping station cost and efficiency records. 1917. 347-354 pp.

Reprinted from the Journal of the American Water Works Association, Sept., 1917.

#### Public Health

See also School Hygiene.

BREND (W. A.). Health and the state. 1917. 354 pp.

This is an English book and relates exclusively to health problems in England.

Contents: The sanction of the state to safeguard the national health; Nature and disease; Infant mortality and its problems; Disease and defects in children and adults; Public health, land, and housing; Medical treatment among the working classes; Public health and the national insurance act; Public health and fraud; The complexity of public health administration; The need for a ministry of public health; Public health and local administration.

BUREAU OF SOCIAL HYGIENE. Commercialized prostitution in New York City, November 1, 1917. A comparison between 1912, 1915, 1916 and 1917.

The office of the Bureau of Social Hygiene is at 61 Broadway, New York City.

CHICAGO. MUNICIPAL TUBERCULOSIS SANITARIUM. Annual report for 1916. 98 pp., plates.

This report is of exceptional interest for every one interested in public health problems.

CLEVELAND HOSPITAL COUNCIL. Public health legislation, considered and enacted by the 82nd General Assembly, Ohio, 1917. Report of the Legislative Committee. Sept. 1, 1917. [12 pp.]

DUBLIN (L. I.). Community health on a national scale. (Survey, Nov. 17, 1917: 167-168.)

FRANKEL (L. K.) and DUBLIN (L. I.). A health census of Kansas City, Missouri. 1917. 11 pp. (Seventh community sickness survey.)

—, —. Sickness survey of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. 1917. 22 pp.

—, —. Sickness survey of principal cities in Pennsylvania and West

Virginia. 1917. 78 pp. (Sixth community sickness survey.)

These surveys are undertaken by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with the idea that communities can best raise their health standards when they know the extent of their sickness losses.

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY AND THE CHELSEA NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION. A health census of Chelsea neighborhood, 14th to 42d Streets, 5th Avenue to the Hudson River, New York City. 1917. 16 pp.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. Proceedings. Part 4, Health; reports, addresses, discussions, forty-fourth annual meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., June, 1917. 258 pp.

The proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work (formerly National Conference of Charities and Correction), are published this year in a series of "hand-books."

Contents of Part 4: Public health and social welfare; The campaign against infant mortality; Public health nursing; Economy in diet; Co-ordination of health activities.

PAN AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS. Proceedings of second congress, Dec. 27, 1915 to Jan. 8, 1916. Sec. 8, Pt. 1, Public health and medicine. v. 9. 1917. 714 pp.

PREBLE (PAUL). Appropriations for city health departments. Summary of expenditures of 330 cities in the central and eastern United States for public health work. (U. S. Pub. health reports, Dec. 7, 1917: 2072-2078.)

"The general conclusion to be drawn from the tables presented is that appropriations for health departments in the United States vary quite directly with the size of the community and are in general insufficient for proper functioning of these departments."

RANKIN (W. S.). Evolution of county health work. (Am. Jour. of Pub. Health, Dec., 1917: 998-1002.)

TRAUTSCHOLD (REGINALD). Cost of industrial health supervision. (Indust. Management, Jan., 1918: 48-54. tables, charts.)

UNITED STATES. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. Malaria control: a report of demonstration studies conducted in urban and rural sections, by R. C. Derivaux and others. Sept., 1917. 57 pp., plates. (Pub. health bul. no. 88.)

WILSON (J. G.) and HOMMON (H. B.). Improving sanitary conditions at Leavenworth. Control of health activities in the extra-cantonment zone around Fort Leavenworth, Kan., by U. S. Public Health Service—Apparent inadequacy of water purification plant. (Mun. Jour., Jan. 26, 1918: 69-72.)

JERVIS (J. G.). Meat inspection. (Jour., Amer. Veterinary Med. Assn., Dec., 1917: 263-267.)

MCGREGOR (G. M.). Cold storage and meat inspection [with discussion]. (Jour., Royal Sanitary Inst., Oct., 1917: 107-115.)

**SAVAGE (W. G.).** Meat inspection in rural districts [with discussion]. (Jour., Royal Sanitary Inst., Oct., 1917: 101-106.)

#### Public Safety

See also Elevators, Public Utilities.

**EDHOLM (C. L.).** Scientific accident prevention in the large city. Some of the means of attaining this end developed in St. Louis. (Sci. Amer., Jan. 5, 1918: 9. illus.)

**FRANKEL (L. K.).** The increasing automobile hazard. An address delivered before the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, Dec. 7, 1917. 1917. 10 pp.

The experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company indicates that the death rate from automobile accidents has trebled since 1911. In this address Dr. Frankel analyzes the problem and suggests remedies.

**MASSACHUSETTS. HIGHWAY COMMISSION.** Twenty-fourth annual report, for the fiscal year ending Nov. 30, 1916. 1917. 291 pp., plates.

Contains (pp. 204-213) the results of an investigation of the causes of 675 motor vehicle accidents in which 429 pedestrians were killed or injured: in the 265 cases in which pedestrians were killed, the pedestrian was wholly at fault in 162 and partly to blame in 43; the operator was wholly to blame in 51, and partly at fault in 43; in most of these cases the accident could easily have been prevented by exercising a little more care.

**NEW YORK STATE. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.** Industrial code. Proposed rules for the guarding of dangerous machinery. [1917.] 16 pp.

Copies may be had on application to Room 2015, 230 Fifth Ave., New York City.

**WATKINS (J. A.).** Mitigation of the heat hazard in industries. (U. S. Pub. health reports, Dec. 14, 1917: 2111-2121.)

#### Public Service

**ALLEN (W. H.).** Universal training for citizenship and public service. 1917. 281 pp.

Partial contents: Universal training for citizenship is possible; Training privates for minimum essentials; Training for volunteer civic work; Training for drillmasters and teachers; Special training for leadership in civic work; Training for entrance to civil service; Training for the professions; Training for continuance in public and quasi-public-service.

**MASSACHUSETTS. SUPERVISOR OF ADMINISTRATION.** Report upon the classification of positions in the state service for the purpose of determining salaries. A study of the problem of personal service. Dec., 1917. 98, 4 pp. typewritten.

**MERIAM (LEWIS).** Principles governing the retirement of public employees. 1918. 477 pp. (Publication of the Institute for Government Research.)

#### Public Utilities

See also Accounting, Contracts, Street Railways.

**BUCHNER (C. E.).** The war and our

gas companies. Utilities Mag., Dec., 1917: 13-15.)

Reviews the conditions under which the New York City gas companies are recovering tolls for the use of the War Department.

**FORD (ARTHUR H.).** Service clauses in public utility franchises. (Amer. Municipalities, Jan., 1918: 108, 124.)

**GOODMAN (L. S.) and JACKSON (W. B.).** Effects of war conditions on cost and quality of electric service. (Proceedings, Amer. Inst. of Elec. Engrs., Jan., 1918: 23-39.)

**PITTSBURGH. CITY COUNCIL.** Report on electric rates in Pittsburgh, Pa., made to city council by C. E. Bown, June 12, 1916. 1916. 46 pp. (Bill no. 1342.)

Comparison is made with rates in force in New York and a number of other cities.

**PROUTY (C. A.).** Regulation of public utilities. (In: Proceedings, Second Pan Amer. Sci. Cong., 1915-16, v. 11: 16-21.)

**THELEN (MAX).** The duty of the state commissions during and after the war. (Utilities Mag., Dec., 1917: 3-13.)

Advantages of administrative tribunals in the determination of controversies. (Utilities Mag., Jan., 1918: 3-9.)

**THOM (A. P.).** The relation of central to local control in the regulation of public utilities. (In: Proceedings, Second Pan Amer. Sci. Cong., 1915-16, v. 11: 491-505.)

**UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF STANDARDS.** Public utility service standards of quality and safety. Oct. 6, 1917. 8 pp. (Circular no. 68.)

#### Purchasing

**BAKER (ARTHUR).** Stores in connection with the municipal purchasing department. (Purchasing Agent, Jan., 1918: 21-23.)

**FAWCETT (WALDON).** The influence of food control upon purchasing practice. (Purchasing Agent, Dec., 1917: 165-168.)

**GALLOWAY (LEE).** Educating the purchasing agent. (Purchasing Agent, Dec., 1917: 161-164.)

**KEENE (A. M.).** Purchasing department forms used by a public service corporation [the Westchester Lighting Company].—V. (Purchasing Agent, Dec., 1917: 182-184. illus.)

**TRAVIS (E. M.).** Buying supplies for the state [of New York]. Movement afoot for establishment of a central purchasing agency for supplies to take the place of the present costly system. (State Service, Jan., 1918: 46-50.)

**TUCKER (PHILIP W.).** Baltimore's system of centralized purchasing and what it means. (Modern City, Dec., 1917: 29, 52.)

**Refuse and Garbage Disposal**

See also Lighting.

ALLEN (H. A.). Refuse reduction processes. (Surveyor and Mun. and Cy. Engr., Nov. 16, 1917: 428-429. illus.)

Abstract of paper presented at a meeting of the Chicago Section of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

DYCK (G. E.). The treatment of garbage. 1917. 44 pp. (v. 1, no. 3.)

Contents: Rendering; Incineration; Stock feed; Poultry feed; Crockery for brick and cement; Fertilizer; Soap grease; The prevention of obnoxious odors; The prevention of flies; The natural rotation of crops.

SCHROEDER (J. P.). Millions from city garbage. A plea for the conservation of the fertilizing elements in garbage. (Amer. City, Dec., 1917: 499-503. illus.)

SHEARS (J. A.). The Staten Island garbage disposal works—Cobwell system. (Monthly Bul., New York City, Dept. of Health, Oct., 1917: 109-118. illus.)

**Roads and Pavements**

See also City Planning.

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**ANON.** Philadelphia partnership plan shows foresight. New contract for unified operation of city high-speed lines and Philadelphia Rapid Transit system provides for 5 per cent return on stock, protected by adjustable fare—places company and city investments side by side—recognizes authority of state commission. (Elec. Ry. Jour., Jan. 26, 1918: 179-181.)

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— — — — — An Act to amend Chapter 4 of the Laws of 1891, entitled "An Act to provide for rapid transit railways in cities of over one million inhabitants," in regard to acquisition by such cities and the equipment, maintenance and operation of lines of street surface railroads for rapid transit purposes. [Proposed bill, prepared by Commissioner Travis H. Whitney.] Draft for consideration at hearing as to recommendations of legislation [before the Public Service, Commission for the First District, Dec. 20, 1917]. [1917.] 3 sheets, typewritten.

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YOUNG (A. N.). The possibilities and limitations of special taxation of land. 1917. 8 pp.

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LEDoux (J. W.). Practical hints on various features of water works design. (Mun. Engr., Jan., 1918: 23-27.)

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Contents: Introduction. The atmosphere: its temperature, pressure and circulation. Water: its various states and their properties. Precipitation: its occurrence and distribution. Evaporation from water surfaces. Evaporation from land areas. Transpiration. Deep seepage. Runoff. Stream-flow data. Modification of stream flow by storage.

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The second stage of the work is the development of the Schoharie watershed by the construction of a dam at Gilboa and the building of a tunnel 18 miles long under the Shandaken Mountain to provide the city with a total of 500 million gallons per day.

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#### Women, Employment of

See also Food supply.

JOHNSON (ETHEL M.), Compiler. Women—war-time occupations and employment. (Special Libraries, Jan., 1918: 12-16, 19-24.)

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# NOTES AND EVENTS

## I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

**Alameda County Charter.**—There have been movements under way looking towards the adoption of a county charter for Alameda county, thereby providing in some degree a certain measure of home rule; but the tax association of Alameda county while believing that a county charter is better than operating under the general law, has in mind other features, such as the doing away with all duplication of offices and functions with which such a community with its several municipalities is burdened. This means the consolidation of the cities' and the county's business, but the task is not an easy one. A chief difficulty is to be found in the constitutional provisions permitting consolidation. These provisions surround the submission of the question to the several municipalities with many obstacles and uncertainties, so much so, that the association is afraid the voters would not fully understand the proposition when presented, and might vote negatively thereon. At any rate, the opponents would use as arguments against the merger, all of the uncertainties that might come to any consolidation, owing to the looseness with which the constitutional provisions covering city and county consolidation have been drawn. If these sections were short, and only granted power, leaving the details to be worked out by an enabling act, it would have been much better. An initiative amendment to the constitution, adopted some four years ago while apparently general, was drawn to fit San Francisco, to enable it to merge with San Mateo county. Unfortunately this amendment goes into detail and produces a situation as regards Alameda county, if it should proceed under it, of compelling it to submit the question "with the cart before the horse." In other words, under the present sections, the first question that would be submitted to the separate municipalities would be in the following form:

Shall (Berkeley) join with the city of Oakland in a consolidated city and county government to be governed by a charter to be *hereafter* prepared within two years, by *freeholders elected within the city of Oakland?* The same proposition would have to be submitted separately in each municipality within the county.

The serious objection to this is that the people of Berkeley, or any of the other cities, would never vote for consolidation, when such consolidation is to be governed by a *charter to be hereafter prepared by freeholders*, which they have no voice in choosing and which charter comes after the merger.

There are many other incongruities provided in the section, all of which form high hurdles difficult to surmount.

Recognizing these conditions, the association prepared and presented to the last legislature an amendment to the constitution adding a new section that will permit the submission of the question to the people as it believes it should be. This amendment passed both houses without a dissenting vote and will be submitted to the voters of the state for ratification at the general election, November, 1919. There is no opposition to it, and it is reasonably certain that it will be ratified. Unfortunately, the old section could not be amended, as San Francisco wished it to remain practically as it is. So the new amendment adds a section and provides an alternative method of submitting the question. It does not apply to San Francisco county or Los Angeles county.

The association is not losing any time, for under the old section if it was really workable in the case of Alameda county, four years would have been needed to campaign and call nine or ten separate elections in the several municipalities.

The San Francisco initiative amendment having gone into much detail, the association was compelled to make its amend-



ment practically an enabling act worked out in every detail. Consequently, it is necessarily long. Immediately upon its ratification an election can be called and possibly if the cogs work smoothly consolidation may be effected within one year.

The advantages of the amendment are:

First—that instead of dealing with the several councilmanic bodies in the county, all proceedings looking toward consolidation are conducted by the county board of supervisors.

Second—The charter is prepared and filed of record in advance of any invitation extended to the several municipalities to join the merger. In this way the people are fully informed as to just what sort of a government is contemplated before being asked to vote.

Third—Small localities, whether incorporated or not, will be unable to stop the merger, if the contemplated consolidation should surround these localities.

Fourth—Should consolidation provide for boroughs—the rights and powers of such boroughs can never be taken away, unless and by the consent of the electors of the particular borough affected.

Everything is carefully worked out in the amendment, even to provision for a separation of the county—should the eastern portion thereof, which is practically all rural, desire to separate itself from the western portion, which is all urban and contains seven distinct municipalities including Oakland, Berkeley and Alameda.

A tentative charter has been prepared which practically covers the whole situation. The charter was prepared by a legal committee of the association of which Thomas H. Reed, now city manager of San José, was the chairman and guiding spirit.

E. W. WILLIAMS.<sup>1</sup>

**Proposed Amendments to Cleveland Charter.**—Cleveland is experiencing its usual post-election agitation for amendments to its charter adopted in 1912. Six have already been proposed, as follows: (a) To substitute the single choice non-

partisan ballot without a primary for the preferential ballot. (b) To provide for woman suffrage. (c) To extend the term of mayor from two to four years. (d) To extend the term of members of the council from two to four years. (e) To require the councilman to be a resident of the ward at the time of his election. (f) To change the method of selecting civil service commissioners by providing for one to be elected at large, one to be appointed by the council and one to be selected by the employes in the classified service.

*Preferential Ballot.*—After each election, since the adoption of the charter, one or the other of the party groups have proposed the elimination of the preferential ballot, which is thoroughly distasteful to the average party worker. In 1913 the Socialists submitted an amendment, which was defeated at a special election. In 1915 the Democrats proposed an amendment which the council, after hearing from the newspapers, refused to submit to a vote. The Republican group, at present in power, now proposes a similar amendment. Each time the proposed amendment has had the serious defect of providing for a single choice ballot without the elimination primary, and the supporters of the preferential form have been able to convince the public that the proposal was wrong in principle. The effort to amend the charter is likely again to be defeated because of the financial stringency which confronts the city, a special election costing approximately \$50,000. There are no funds appropriated or in sight to meet such an expense.

The civic league has appointed a committee to consider these proposed amendments and to make recommendations to the executive board. The probabilities are, however, that none of the amendments will be submitted this year, because the director of law has held that they cannot be submitted at a party primary and must be submitted as required by the charter either at the regular municipal election or at a special election called for the purpose of voting upon these amendments. No funds are available to meet the expenses of a special election.

<sup>1</sup> Secretary, tax association of Alameda county.

Strangely the opposition to the preferential ballot has been growing in Cleveland, although the opposition can point to no serious defects in the operation of the system. The number of second and other choices has not been large, and in only five out of eighty-one officers elected on the preferential ballot in the three elections have the results been other than they would have been on a single choice ballot. In 1913, 25 per cent of the voters expressed second and other choices; in 1915, 33 per cent, and in 1917 only 22 per cent.

MAYO FESLER.<sup>1</sup>

✦

**City Manager Changes.**—W. R. Patton has succeeded C. T. Cain as city manager of Morganton, N. C., and Captain Edward O. Heinrich<sup>2</sup> has been selected as city manager of Boulder, Colo.

John Kneebone, a graduate of the University of Michigan, has been appointed city manager of Beaufort, S. C., succeeding Harrison Gray Otis. Mr. Kneebone has to his credit two years of useful experience in the office of the city engineer of Flint, Mich. He is the third man from the University of Michigan to take up the city manager profession, the other two being Mr. Otis and W. M. Cotton, who is now manager of Edgeworth, Pa.

H. L. McDuffie has been appointed city manager of Madill, Oklahoma, succeeding J. K. Ross, and Sam C. Gary has been appointed city manager of Denton, Texas, in place of P. J. Beyette.

J. Newton Johnston, a civil engineer from Florence, S. C., has been made city manager of Ocala, Florida, (population 6,000) beginning his duties February 15.

✦

**Dayton Loses City Manager.**—Henry M. Waite, who has been city manager of Dayton since the inauguration of the plan there in 1914, has been commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the signal corps of the American army and has sailed for France to take up his work there. In the meantime the administration of affairs in Dayton will be carried on by the staff

which he has built up. The loss to Dayton is a great one. Concerning his removal to another field of activity, the *Columbus State Journal* had this to say editorially:

The city manager of Dayton, Mr. H. M. Waite, is going to France to help rebuild the villages of that country and Belgium. It is a very important work and no better man than Mr. Waite could be gotten for it. There will be a sense of loss to the cause of decent city government in Mr. Waite's leaving it for war work. He has been a power in raising Dayton in the opinion of the nation. That city has been growing onward and upward ever since Mr. Waite directed its destinies. He has shown what a commission government can do when intrusted to a courageous and clear-headed man. Dayton is likely to suffer unless as good a man is put in Waite's place, for already the politicians are baiting their hooks for plunder. Dayton has won distinction throughout the land and Ohio is proud of her, because she has kicked politics to hades and conducted her government upon the plane of justice, fairness and common sense. Mr. Waite has left a \$12,500 job for a \$3,500 one. That alone shows how big a man he is.

James E. Barlow, the service director of Dayton, was elected city manager to succeed Col. Waite, at a salary of \$7,500.

✦

**Lincoln, Nebraska.**—The second attempt of Lincoln, Nebraska, to adopt a home rule charter was successful. At a special election in November a home rule charter was carried by a majority of 990 to 135. The reason for the exceptional majority was that the only issue before the voters was that of home rule, the home rule charter convention having compiled the existing legislative provisions affecting Lincoln into a charter which was submitted to the voters.

✦

**Kalamazoo's city-manager charter** with proportional representation provisions was adopted at the special election on February 4 by a vote of 2,043 to 659, every precinct in the city registering a substantial vote in its favor.

✦

**Municipal Ownership in New York City.**—At the quadrennial city election last November the successful candidates

<sup>1</sup> Secretary, Cleveland civic league.

<sup>2</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 103.

for mayor, comptroller, president of the board of aldermen and the five borough presidents, who together constitute the board of estimate and apportionment of the city of New York, were men who had been nominated on the Democratic (Tammany) ticket, and had run upon a platform which included a declaration for "public ownership and operation of all public utilities including traction, gas, electric and the telephone." The plurality secured by these candidates was so overwhelming that, taken in conjunction with the very heavy Socialist vote, and with the fact that the Fusion candidates themselves were pledged to the extension of municipal ownership as far as the finances of the city would permit, would seem to indicate that the people of New York were of one mind on this general policy. This is far from being true, but the customary political camouflage of the campaign resulted in substantial unanimity as the record was made at the polls.

During the campaign Dr. Milo R. Maltbie, city chamberlain under the Mitchel administration, himself well known as an advocate of public ownership, and a recognized authority on public utility problems, prepared for use in combatting the program of the Tammany candidates a statement containing an estimate of the cost to the city of acquiring all the public utilities included within the terms of the Democratic platform. He pointed out that the gross funded debt of the city on June 30, 1917, was \$1,437,000,000, and the temporary debt \$52,000,000. Deducting the assets in the sinking fund he found the net bonded debt to be approximately \$1,055,000,000. He estimated that there were at least 140 public utility companies which would be affected by the program of the Tammany candidates. This list included 17 gas companies, 10 electric companies, 3 gas and electric companies, 2 electrical subway companies, 7 water companies, 50 street railway companies, 5 rapid transit companies, 21 steam and electric railroads, 1 telephone company, 16 wire companies, 7 steam and refrigerator companies and 1 electric supply and street

railway company. He estimated that the cost of acquiring the physical property of the principal local utilities, excluding those doing a large amount of business outside of the city, would be at least \$840,000,000 and that the cost of railroad, telephone, telegraph and signal properties within the city limits would be at least \$350,000,000 more without any allowance for severance damages. These estimates were based upon the average prices that prevailed prior to the war. He estimated that, if current prices were to be used, the cost would be increased at least 50 per cent. He called attention to the fact that these estimates were not based upon the earning power of the properties, and contained no allowance for franchises, most of which, in New York city, are perpetual. He estimated that the amount to be paid for franchises and earning power in condemnation proceedings would not be less than 30 per cent of physical value, thus bringing the cost of the strictly local utilities up to \$1,100,000,000 and of the local portion of the railroads and wire companies up to \$500,000,000 or more. This would make the minimum expense of acquiring, by condemnation proceedings, all the public utility properties within the city of New York covered by the Democratic declaration of policy up to \$1,600,000,000, which is 50 per cent more than the present net bonded debt of the city. The position of the Fusion candidates was that any considerable extension of the policy of municipal ownership at the present time would be financially impracticable, and that the city's efforts in this line should be directed to the acquisition of its remaining private water companies and the electrical subway companies.

To anyone familiar with the magnitude of the public utility properties of New York city, and with the prices paid by cities for such properties, whether by agreement or in condemnation proceedings, Dr. Maltbie's estimates will appear extremely conservative. In fact, it is roughly estimated that the immediate adoption of municipal ownership as applied to all local public utilities throughout the country, would involve an ex-

penditure on the part of the municipalities of approximately four times their existing gross funded debt. On this basis the possibility of the adoption of municipal ownership in New York looks comparatively rosy, but this appearance is a result of the enormous debt which the city has already incurred, rather than of a relatively small cost of the public utilities to be acquired. It is said that the more business men use their credit, the easier it is for them to raise large sums of money. We may reason from this that the bigger the debt which a city has incurred for other purposes, the more readily it can raise the funds for carrying out a municipal ownership program. The country will doubtless have an opportunity to learn some important lessons in municipal finance from the accomplishments of the new administration in New York city!

An interesting development in connection with the approval of the policy of municipal ownership is the suggestion emanating from the public service commission for the first district to the effect that the rapid transit act be so amended as to permit the commission, with the approval of the board of estimate and apportionment, to enter into contracts for the acquisition of surface street railways to be operated in conjunction with the rapid transit lines. As is well known, the commission a few years ago entered into contracts with the Interborough rapid transit company and the New York municipal railway corporation, a subsidiary of the Brooklyn rapid transit company, for the equipment and operation under lease of the new subway lines in conjunction with the old subways and the existing elevated lines of the Brooklyn system. The wording of the proposed amendment to the rapid transit act is to the effect that the commission may purchase for such price, and upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon, "any line or lines of street surface railroad already constructed or in process of construction, which in the opinion of the commission it is for the interest of the public and the city to acquire in order that

the same shall be operated for a single fare in conjunction or in connection with any existing rapid transit railroad owned by the city or of which the receipts are combined with the receipts of another road of the city under any contract made pursuant to this chapter." The amendment further provides that instead of paying for the property from the proceeds of bonds the commission may, with the consent of the local authorities, "as part of the terms and conditions of the purchase of such railway or street surface railroad, enter into a contract under the provisions of this chapter, with the person, firm or corporation from whom said purchase is made, for the equipment, maintenance and operation, or for the maintenance and operation of said railway or street surface railroad and therein provide that said price be deducted from or allowed on account of the rental payable for the use of such railway or street surface railroad under such contract at such times and in such amounts as may be specified therein, or that said price shall be deemed the contractor's investment in the said cost of construction of said railway or street surface railroad within the meaning of said contract." Translated into English, this means that under the public service commission plan those street surface railways of Manhattan which are owned by a company affiliated with the Interborough rapid transit company, and the street surface lines of Brooklyn, which are owned by subsidiaries of the Brooklyn rapid transit company would be purchased and leased to the companies for operation, with a guaranteed return upon the recognized investment (the purchase price) and provision for the amortization of the investment itself out of the earnings of the combined rapid transit and surface lines in case such earnings were sufficient. It is to be noted that these rental and amortization charges would constitute a prior lien upon transportation revenues, coming in ahead of any possible return to the city upon the investment of approximately \$230,000,000 which it is now making in rapid transit facilities. If the transportation earnings of the combined



systems, even when relieved from paying anything to the city on this investment, would be still insufficient to pay operating costs and the rental and depreciation charges guaranteed to the companies, then it is to be presumed that the deficiency would have to be made up out of direct taxation. It may be said that the commission's proposal, which was put forward at the suggestion of Commissioner Travis H. Whitney, has not been received with any particular enthusiasm by the advocates of municipal ownership. The New York public is so blind that it fails in a measure to appreciate the advantages of the municipal ownership of the subways which we now have, combined as it is with operation by the rapid transit companies under 49-year leases.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

*New York City.*

✦

**The New Buffalo Charter and the Schools.**—The ideal of the new charter is power centered in a single council, permitting business to be done—efficiency; and control by the voters, insuring that business be done for the public interest—democracy.

This ideal was not attained in the school department, where the creation of a board with independent power resulted in friction with the city council, greatly augmented by the effort of the board to force the "Finegan school bill" upon Buffalo, regardless of the opposition of the council and without submission to the voters, who they feared would reject the bill. This bill, now enacted into law, reverts to divided government by transferring from the elected council to an appointed board accountable to neither voters nor council, practically all control over the schools, except an ill-defined control over the budget. It contained no merit system for appointment of Buffalo teachers until such was forced in at the last moment and as enacted has none for any other city except New York where the merit system was too well established to be safely attacked.

Thirty-five workers for the new charter proposed a home rule bill to remedy the

lack of unity in the new charter. Fifteen business men's associations unanimously indorsed it and opposed the Finegan bill. The home rule bill required the approval of the voters to become a law and then would have made the council responsible for the schools with power to abolish the board subject to the veto power of the voters. It contained an excellent merit system for appointment of teachers. Its friends claimed that school boards outlived their usefulness with the advent of centralized, responsible city government; that the city corporation had no more need for a second board of directors than had any other corporation; that no part-time, non-expert board could wisely manage a great technical city department; and that efficiency and democracy demanded that the schools, like other city departments, be managed by an expert, full-time superintendent accountable directly to the full-time, elected and responsible council.

The home rule bill passed the assembly 94 to 16 but was held up in a senate committee. Then the Finegan forces made concessions to the enemies of the mayors of New York and Buffalo, secured a majority party caucus on their bill, and had it passed after sunrise following an all-night fight after rejecting an amendment to submit the bill to the voters.

When it became evident that the Finegan bill would pass and destroy the power of the council to remove the school board, the council by a vote of four to one removed the board that had spent so much of its energy in trying to aggrandize itself at the expense of the council. The new board appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council, has been favorably commented on by the press of both sides of the school controversy. This board provided for applying a real merit system to the appointment of teachers, which the old board declined to do.

To gain the support of the enemies of the then mayors of New York City and Buffalo, the Finegan bill was amended to provide that in these two cities only, the terms of all board members should expire in January, 1918, enabling the mayors elected in November, 1917 to appoint all

board members, who would then be irremovable by the city during their terms of five years for Buffalo and seven for New York. However, in the case of the boards appointed in 1918, one member's term should end each year and his successor be appointed for a full term.

In Buffalo all the new board members were reappointed in January, 1918. They are now looking for a new superintendent of schools and have proposed a general increase of salaries of teachers and the creation of new positions in the general office.

MELVIN P. PORTER.

✱

**How Detroit Handled the Coal Situation.**—About October 10, 1917, it was brought home to the officials of Detroit, that something radical in the coal business had to be done to relieve the desperate situation. The commissioner of police was appointed fuel administrator for the city by the mayor. Immediately coal offices were opened in each of the nine precinct stations in Detroit in charge of a sergeant or lieutenant of police, who, with the aid of a civilian order clerk and patrolmen as needed, handled his district under the supervision of headquarters or the main office.

Calls came from all classes, rich and poor; it was not a question of having the money, but placing an order with the coal man. It was found that the coal men had booked orders and had not been able to fill them fast enough, consequently when their supply began to run low they refused to accept other orders. This was unfair to the general public, as one who had an order for six or eight or more tons placed would receive his full supply and the one who had no order placed received none. An order was then issued that one ton of coal was all that could be delivered to anyone (excepting, of course, apartment houses, exceptionally large homes and steam plants) at a time. It was first a question of equitable distribution and later became a question of assisting the dealer to obtain fuel.

A system was perfected to handle each individual complaint or request for fuel. A police order blank was filled out in each

case giving the name, address, kind of heating plant (as it was a question of heat not coal), former dealer and how coal was put in. Each one was asked if he had any coal, if there was sickness or small children at home, and was so classified. Sickness and small children were classified as emergency or urgent cases and were immediately taken care of. A call was made on every dealer in each precinct by the officer in charge and the dealer's name was stamped on all orders in his immediate vicinity which he could take care of that day. These orders were then returned to precinct stations and officer sent out to investigate if the cases were as represented. If found worthy, the police order blank was left at the home with positive instructions to present same at dealer's yard whose name was stamped on same and pay in advance for delivery of the fuel. This was found to be the only possible method of handling, as some of the more ignorant class insisted that they should receive only a special coal which it was impossible to supply. This method perhaps seemed harsh, but proved ideal.

It was always the desire of the department to localize the deliveries for the dealer. This gained their co-operation to a great extent, as heretofore they had delivered to anyone anywhere in the city. This threw the burden of delivery where it belonged and, naturally, was a boon to the dealer.

In this manner the department has taken care of 46,685 individual cases, from October 20 to January 1. There have been average daily requests for fuel of 790 cases, and an average of 778 have been filled.

JAMES COUZENS.<sup>1</sup>

✱

**War and Municipal Economy in Troy, N. Y.**—Just before the New Year broke, the Troy (N. Y.) *Record* began the publication of a series of editorials on "war and municipal economy." They continued for more than a week and created consternation in that city. *The Record*, although a Republican newspaper, had supported the present Democratic municipal administration during the November

<sup>1</sup> Commissioner of police, Detroit.

campaign and, largely due to its efforts, Mayor Burns had been returned to office by a splendid majority. The editorials, relating chiefly to sinecures and inefficiency in the city hall, although protesting confidence that the officials would meet the issue frankly, were regarded by many as a species of attack upon the new administration.

The tenor of *The Record's* articles was that at least \$40,000 could be cut from the forthcoming budget if the committee on estimate and apportionment carried the economy program of the government into municipal affairs; and it intimated that such a course was a far better test of patriotism than speeches, parades, gifts to the soldiers and red fire. Naturally the friends of those denounced as sinecures—for *The Record* cited names—were busy at once striving to discredit the effort. There had been, however, a considerable agitation for a municipal research audit of Troy's affairs; and many insisted that *The Record's* effort was practically a careful survey. This made the campaign for economy a good test of sincerity on the part of the new officials.

The city at best was facing a considerable increase in expenses on account of proper demands from the teachers, the police and the firemen for advances in wages. There were other praiseworthy causes which needed appropriations and without the dropping of many sinecures a heavy increase in the tax rate was unavoidable. Indeed, the estimates of the various departments, when pared down and presented to the board of estimate and apportionment, contemplated an increase of \$132,000 in the budget total.

When the estimate was presented to the common council, on February 6, however, it was found that very nearly half the suggestions of *The Record* had been taken and that the total gain in appropriations asked for was but a bare \$30,000, practically all of it cared for by increased assessments. As a result, the tax rate, in this year of increased costs of living, will remain practically unchanged. The move of *The Record* was rather daring and

won condemnation at first on all sides. The Republicans asked why *The Record* did not support Republican candidates at the municipal election if there was so much waste in the city hall. The Democrats banded together to save their patronage. But public opinion gradually was developed for real economy and the officials were compelled to respect it. The editor of *The Record* states that it made little difference to his newspaper whether the sinecures were abolished or not: if they were, Troy was the gainer; if not, a psychological foundation had been prepared for a campaign for a city-manager form of government.

✱

#### The Kansas Plan of Social Surveys.—

A group of four cities in Kansas, the county seats of their respective counties, are at present engaged in making social surveys. They are Clay Center, Beloit, Marysville and Minneapolis. Most of the work is being done by local volunteers, from among of the leading business and professional men, city officials, social workers, in fact the leaders of every group in the cities concerned. The results of the survey will be prepared for a three- or four-day exhibit, held in connection with a community institute in each city during the latter part of February and March. This institute and exhibit will be carried on under the combined efforts of the extension division of the University of Kansas, the state health department, and M. C. Elmer of the department of sociology. The various exhibits are prepared by the class in surveys and exhibits of the University.

Last year a similar survey was made in Council Grove, Kan. This year another community institute will be held there, and a "follow up" campaign carried on. While a brief summary of these surveys will be published, emphasis is placed on the exhibit and local newspaper propaganda.

✱

#### Russian Municipal Development.—

The population of our towns was 16,855,000 in 1897 and is 30,000,000 at the present time. In 1897 there were 20 towns with a population over 100,000; at the present time

there are more than 50 towns with such a population. Petrograd counted in 1897 only 1,367,023 inhabitants; now there are more than 3,000,000. Moscow in 1897 had only 1,035,664; now there are approximately 2,500,000. The income of the large towns was 104 million roubles in 1901; in 1912 it was 238 millions and now it is approximately more than 400 millions. The loans of the cities were from 1875 until 1901 only 147,500,000 roubles; from 1901 to 1911 they equalled 265,000,000; they cannot now be fixed accurately, but are certainly not much less than a billion. There is since the revolution an increase in the expenses of the cities.

(COUNT) LOUIS SKARZYNSKI.

✱

**City Planning in Pennsylvania.**—Karl B. Lohmann has taken up his duties as town planner with the Pennsylvania bureau of municipalities. He is to be of service in helping to awaken the cities and boroughs of Pennsylvania to the desirability of planning, and so far as possible, to advise or lend a helping hand in the problems with which such communities are likely to be confronted.

He expects to be of special service to the nineteen planning commissions of Pennsylvania to stimulate programs of activities among them, assist in the creation of new planning boards, and where practicable, help in any physical problems of a city planning character that may have arisen out of the necessities of the war.

Following is a list of the third class cities in Pennsylvania which now have city planning commissions: Allentown, Altoona, Chester, Coatesville, Easton, Erie, Franklin, Harrisburg, Hazleton, Johnstown, Meadville, New Castle, Oil City, Pittston, Pottsville, Reading, Wilkes-Barre, York.

✱

**Vermont State Board of Control.**—As a first step in the co-ordination of numerous unrelated administrative boards and departments in Vermont, a board of control has been established (no. 32, laws of 1917). It consists of the governor, state treasurer, auditor of accounts, director of state institutions and a person to be appointed biennially by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate. The board meets regularly once a month. All state boards, institutions, commissions, officers and departments (except judicial officers) report to this board each month on their work for the month. These reports are filed with the legislative reference librarian who publishes abstracts therefrom in the newspapers of the state.

The board has rather wide authority to investigate and to exercise a supervisory control when in its judgment such is necessary. The idea in the governor's mind, as stated in his advocacy of the measure, seems to have been to create a kind of cabinet to the governor and also to centralize the control of the administrative activity of the state.

GEORGE G. GROAT.

## II. POLITICS<sup>1</sup>

**Recall Election in Joplin, Missouri.**—The Missouri general assembly in 1913 enacted a law permitting Missouri cities of second class to establish, under certain conditions, the commission form of city government. The final enactment of this bill was the result of a struggle on behalf of its different advocates through four sessions of the legislature. One of the leaders in pushing the bill was Hugh

McIndoe, of Joplin. When the city of Joplin adopted the commission form of government in 1914, Mr. McIndoe, who had formerly been a state senator, was elected as a commissioner, with the position of mayor. On August 17, 1917, at a special recall election, Mayor McIndoe was removed from office.

Under the leadership of Mr. McIndoe, Joplin seems to have steadily progressed in municipal affairs. A modern and progressive code was enacted which has served as a model for codes of other cities.

<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise indicated, the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.



His friends bring forward as evidences of good city government the increased efficiency of the police and fire departments; the enforcement of the law; and the rules and regulations regarding various forms of municipal activity. Without an increase in municipal taxes, city officials have considerably broadened the activities of the government and instituted many novel features.

The refusal of the mayor to grant a hearing on charges against the assistant chief of police and a desk sergeant that they had arrested a sign-writer and refused to grant him permission to consult with an attorney or with friends, prompted the movement that terminated in Mayor McIndoe's recall. The sign-writer is said to have been forced to spend four hours in jail after endeavoring to interview one of his employes who had been arrested. He claims to have been mistreated by the police officials, and the Rotary club and the masonic lodge, of both of which he is a member, took up the matter. The latter organization called upon Mayor McIndoe to investigate the charges, and to urge the removal of both police officers should the charges against them be substantiated. The prosecuting attorney, in the meantime, had announced that he would file criminal charges against the police officers. Mayor McIndoe, in refusing to investigate the charges, did not deny that MacPherson had been arrested and detained, but he refused to order a hearing, on the ground that to bring the police officers into the hearing would expose their case, as they would present it when they went to trial in a state court.

This action on the part of the mayor prompted petitions to be placed in circulation calling for an election to vote on his recall. A recall committee of one hundred, headed by a prominent mason and banker of Joplin, directed the campaign against the mayor. The committee provided for no public meetings but placed active workers in every voting district in the city. In addition to the issue raised by the mayor's refusal to investigate charges against the police officials, it was claimed by those who favored Mr.

McIndoe's recall that under his administration corporations had been favored; that he had been extravagant and arrogant in office; and had imposed upon the people unnecessary laws. The various forces of discontent in the city were almost unanimous in favor of the recall of the mayor.

Led by Mr. McIndoe, the friends of the city administration undertook vigorously to defend the city government under the commission. Strict law enforcement and the elimination from the city administration of politics and favoritism were, in their opinion, the real causes of the opposition to the mayor. Much interest was taken in the recall campaign, as it was the first one to be held in the state of Missouri.

The result of the election was complete defeat for Mayor McIndoe. The vote to recall him was 2,289; against recalling him, 963. As the total registration in Joplin is 7,831, only 40 per cent of the registered voters participated in the recall election.

THOMAS S. BARCLAY.<sup>1</sup>

\*

**The San Francisco Recall Movement.**—On November 1 the California supreme court dissolved an order of the superior court forbidding an election on the recall of District Attorney Fickert. The latter had contended that some of the signatures were not valid and the superior court upheld him, but the supreme court overruled the latter and the matter was submitted to the electorate for decision.<sup>2</sup>

At the recall election on December 18, 1917, the district attorney was re-elected by the following vote:

	1st choice	2d choice	3d choice
Charles M. Fickert. . . . .	46,460	46,690	47,246
Frank P. Haynes. . . . .	1,739	4,753	5,020
Charles A. Sweigert. . . . .	25,983	26,516	27,052
Scattering. . . . .	10	14	17
Grand total. . . . .	74,192	77,973	79,335
Majority 1st choice. . . . .	37,097		

According to E. A. Walcott, the secretary of the commonwealth club of San Francisco: "About two weeks before the

<sup>1</sup> University of Missouri.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bulletin* of the civic league of San Francisco for November, 1917.

election there came a decided swing of public opinion in his favor, not as a good official, but as embodying a more important principle. The feeling that the recall movement was due above everything else to the resentment of the radical elements against any prosecution of dynamiters brought the sober second thought of the community to his rescue. The Mooney crowd have been very quiet since the election, as they learned that they were not supported by the labor people. The strongest labor districts gave them a small majority, but the conservatives among the labor men voted against them or did not vote at all."

✱

**The Oakland, California, Recall Movement.**—At the recall election on December 4, 1917, the voters of Oakland registered a heavy opposition to the recall of Mayor Davie and seriously discouraged future indiscriminate recall movements.

The figures are as follows:

For the recall.....	9,161
Against the recall.....	23,176

#### FOR THE CANDIDATES

John L. Davie.....	20,859
David C. Dutton.....	5,908
John Calvin Taylor.....	1,289
Anson B. Weeks.....	2,566

On the face of the returns Mayor Davie is retained as mayor of Oakland by a majority which, in comparison to the size of the total vote cast, is greater than that he received in 1915 when he was elected mayor by a heavy vote over Frank Bilger. In 1915 the total vote cast was 43,000 and Davie received 27,000.

✱

**A Dayton Removal.**—Dr. A. L. Light, health commissioner of the city, has been relieved from duty. While the immediate charge or cause of this removal was one of insubordination, it was felt by those in touch with the situation that it was simply a convenient method of getting rid of a public official who was not in favor with a large number of prominent citizens. It is to be borne in mind that this is the first removal of a public officer named under the present administration

in four years, and this of a man who had served during that entire period. One correspondent writes that "it is difficult to keep friendly with hundreds of persons whom one requires to connect their properties with the sewer, to clean up dirty premises, to be vaccinated or quarantined, to protect by glass cases their candy, butter, fruit or meats. It is especially hard to administer the health affairs of a city of 150,000 people with an extensive health program without a secretary or personal assistants in the supervision of over 40 division employes and a complete record system such as a health program requires."

Dr. A. O. Peters has been appointed as Dr. Light's successor.

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**East St. Louis Convictions.**—As a result of the unremitting and efficient service of Attorney General Brundage, there have been a series of convictions of those responsible for the East St. Louis riots<sup>1</sup>. To date twelve of the participants in the riots have been convicted and sentenced to a term of fourteen years each, and two to terms of fifteen years each and four to terms of five years each. Thirty-two men have been convicted and sentenced to various terms or to pay fines. Five have been acquitted and cases against twelve have been *nolle prossed*. There remains yet to be tried the cases against five police officers and an indictment against Mayor Tollman for misfeasance. In commenting on this recently the Springfield, Ill., *News* said:

"The unsparing probe into the causes of the recent race riots and the evident intention to punish the guilty and to prevent a recurrence of the crime wave, proves the sincerity of East St. Louis and augurs well for its future. Not only is the city preparing to adopt the commission form of government, but it is resolutely undertaking to rid itself of corrupt politics, which has been at the bottom of most of its troubles.

"Attorney General Brundage has done valiant service for the cause of good government in the city by stepping in and

<sup>1</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 40.

demanding the enforcement of law, when local authority broke down. But the future is in the hands of the community. The officials chosen must not be of the sort to compromise with thugs and cutthroats and apparently the people have determined they shall not be."

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**Los Angeles Referenda.**—The results of the election were as follows:

<i>Proposition</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
No. 1. Anti-saloon.....	54,447	34,277
No. 2. Humane animal com- mission.....	24,725	41,319
No. 3. Liquor dealers' ordinance	10,057	69,858
No. 4. Half-way prohibition...	10,704	69,959

The only measure which carried was Proposition no. 1, the no-saloon ordinance, initiated and supported by the united temperance forces of Los Angeles. The causes of the result lie not only in the rising tide of public opinion against liquor, but in the emphasis which the war has laid upon the waste and harm done by alcohol. Los Angeles, having in its limits a large navy training station and coast artillery establishment at San Pedro, felt that the men in the service should be protected against the evils of drink. Doubtless, too, the economic waste emphasized by the Hoover administration had a bearing upon the result.

SEWARD C. SIMONS.

✱

**Ashtabula, Ohio.**—At the first meeting of the newly elected commission, M. H. Turner was elected city manager by the votes of the four members elected through the guardians of liberty.<sup>3</sup> J. W. Prine, who had been city manager since the inauguration of the system in Ashtabula, received two votes. Mr. Turner's choice is highly regarded by those in touch with the situation. He filled the office of director of public works from 1912 to 1915 and was regarded as an excellent public official. In the words of our correspondent, "his administration will probably be marked by no particular brilliancy, but will be honest, tactful and fairly efficient."

**Mount Vernon's Mayor.**—A very interesting result followed the mayoralty contest in Mount Vernon. On the face of the returns Mayor Edwin W. Fiske was re-elected by two votes. After a canvass by the supervisors his opponent, Dr. Edward F. Brush, won by seven majority. For a time this result hinged on the votes of four members of the rainbow division in France. In the city Dr. Brush's plurality was 58, but the soldier vote of 168 for Fiske and 110 for Brush made the total vote a tie. A number of defective ballots and clerical errors were noted, with the above-mentioned result.

### III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

**New York Optional Charter Law.**—After a rough passage through the judicial seas, the New York optional city government law of 1915 has been found to be constitutional by the court of appeals in the case of *Cleveland v. City of Watertown*. The judgments of the appellate division and of the special term were therefore reversed.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime certain communities acting on these decisions have put themselves into rather complicated situations.<sup>2</sup> Among other things the court said "the main object of the act, as has already been indicated, is to permit the

qualified electors of a city of the class named to adopt a simplified form of government, if they so desire, and only such powers as are necessary to accomplish that object are conferred. It may be that when the city proceeds to carry out the object of the act the council will attempt to pass ordinances which it does not have the power to do, but if so the court will not hesitate, when that time arrives, to place its stamp of disapproval upon the same. Unconstitutional ordinances have been attempted to be passed under many charters of cities of the state, but no one

<sup>1</sup> 165 N. Y. Sup. 305; 166 N. Y. Sup. 286.

<sup>2</sup> 166 N. Y. Sup. 923.

<sup>3</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 29.

has suggested, so far as I know, that by reason of that fact the charter itself is unconstitutional.

"The whole trend of modern thought and recent legislation is toward vesting in each municipality the management of its local affairs and I have been unable to discover any valid reason why the present act, which is a step in that direction, should not be given a fair trial without interference from the court. The act is not an attempt upon the part of the legislature to shirk its duties or to delegate to another body the power vested solely in it. On the contrary, it is to permit each locality to determine for itself the form of government which it will have, based upon modern ideas rather than a form of government which has been tried and in some respects at least found unsatisfactory."



**Special Assessments.**—In *Schneider Granite Company v. Gast Realty and Investment Company*,<sup>1</sup> it was decided by the United States supreme court that where a special assessment to pay for a particular improvement has been held to be illegal, the federal constitution does not prevent the making of the new and just assessment to pay for the completed work. Mr. Justice Pitney said *inter alia* "but whether such new assessment should be made, and, if made, whether it should be done by a court or by an assessing board or other appropriate instrumentality, and whether further legislation was needed for the purpose, were and are matters of state law."



**Extension of Service.**—In *People v. McCall*,<sup>2</sup> the supreme court of the United States has decided that an order of the New York public service commission requiring a gas company to extend service to a small but growing community about a mile and a half from its mains was not arbitrary or capricious, so as to constitute a denial of due process of law. The small community contained 330 houses of an average cost of \$7,500 and was served by

other companies with water, electric light and telephone service. On the cost of the extension as estimated by the gas company the return would be about 2½ per cent per annum; as estimated by the commission the return would be about 4 per cent. Mr. Justice Clarke said "corporations which devote their property to a public use may not pick and choose, serving only the portions of the territory covered by their franchises which it is presently profitable for them to serve and restricting the developing of the remaining portions by leaving their inhabitants in discomfort without the service which they alone can render. To correct this disposition to serve where it is profitable and to neglect where it is not, is one of the important purposes for which these administrative commissions, with large powers, were called into existence, with an organization and with duties which peculiarly fit them for dealing with problems such as this case presents."



**Municipal Fuel Yards.**—The United States supreme court in the case of *Jones v. Portland*<sup>3</sup> (Maine) held that a statute authorizing any city or town to establish and maintain a permanent wood, coal and fuel yard for the purpose of selling wood, coal and fuel to its inhabitants at cost, does not take the property of taxpayers for private uses in violation of the 14th amendment, especially where the highest court of the state has declared the purpose to be a public one.



**Street Car Fares.**—In the case of *Cincinnati v. the Cincinnati and Hamilton Traction Company and the Ohio Traction Company*,<sup>4</sup> the supreme court of the United States has sustained the action of the United States district court which granted an injunction against the going into effect of an ordinance passed by the city council of Cincinnati on April 21, 1914, which specified terms and conditions under which the company might operate the street cars. The effect of the ordi-

<sup>1</sup> 38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 125.

<sup>2</sup> 38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 122.

<sup>3</sup> 38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 112.

<sup>4</sup> No. 10 Oct. Term 1917.



nance was to reduce fares. Shortly before the ordinance was to become effective, the traction companies, both Ohio corporations, filed a bill in the United States district court claiming the impairment of the obligation of their contracts and deprivation of their property without due process of law. The city denied jurisdiction of the court, but the trial court sustained the jurisdiction and granted an injunction against the ordinance, although it was not to go into effect until thirty days after its passage. The city insisted that no action would be taken prior to a judicial determination. Mr. Justice Clarke wrote a dissenting opinion, concurred in by Mr. Justice Brandeis, in which it was pointed out that there was no jurisdiction in the federal court because there was no diversity of citizenship stated. He said also "it becomes very clear that we have before us an utterly unsubstantial and purely paper attempt to carry into the federal courts a case which, because of its 'many difficult problems arising under local laws' is peculiarly one for first decision in the state courts, with the right of revision in this court as provided for by law. . . . It has been for many years the constant effort, repeatedly declared, of congress and of this court, to prevent the evasion of the constitution and of the laws of the United States, by bringing into the federal courts controversies between citizens of the same state."

\*

**Illinois Majority Vote.**—The supreme court of Illinois in the case of *People v. Stevenson*<sup>1</sup> has held that under article 14, section 2 of their constitution, requiring amendments to be submitted to electors of the state at the next election of members of the general assembly, the adopting of proposed amendments requires a majority of the votes of all electors voting at an election at which members of the assembly are elected and not merely a majority of the votes cast for members of the general assembly. The chief justice and one colleague dissented. The former said: "When the members of a court of last

resort disagree upon any construction that should be placed upon any provision of the constitution, how can it fairly be said that a given construction is the only clear one."

\*

**Judicial Power of Mayor.**—The charter of the city of Cleveland specifically reserves to the mayor of the city judicial powers conferred upon mayors of municipal corporations by the general laws of the state. This was decided in the case of *State v. Davis*<sup>2</sup> where a writ was sought prohibiting the mayor from exercising jurisdiction in connection with a petition filed with him under an act of the legislature against prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in a residential district.

\*

**Vested Rights in Vice.**—In the case of *Dix v. The City of New Orleans*, a writ of injunction prohibiting the police from interfering with a resort under the terms of a new ordinance, no. 4656, has been asked on the following grounds: First, that the new ordinance abolishing the "red light" district is illegal, null and void, and destroys vested rights given according to law; second, that the new ordinance will destroy business and property now protected and recognized by law; third, that in allowing only thirty days to abandon the property the act of the city is oppressive and tyrannical, arbitrary and unreasonable.

\*

**Control of Utilities.**—The Cuyahoga county common pleas court in the case of *The City of Cleveland v. The Cleveland Telephone Company* recently issued a temporary injunction sustaining the full power of the home rule charter city over all public utility corporations within its limits. The telephone company had advanced its rates and refused to recognize the city council and denied its right or power in the matter of rates. The case will go to the supreme court of Ohio.

\*

**Personal Liberty.**—A city ordinance declaring that any person found associating

<sup>1</sup> 117 N. E. 747.

<sup>2</sup> 117 N. E. 358.

with prostitutes or found in company with any such persons should be deemed a pimp was held invalid by the supreme court of South Dakota in city of *Watertown v. Christnacht*<sup>1</sup> because it violates article 6, section 1 of the constitution guaranteeing personal liberty, since it would prevent personal effort on the part of citizens to uplift and ameliorate the condition of fallen women.

✱

**Civil Service Certification.**—Under the Tacoma charter where the duty of the

civil service board was to certify three names for vacancies in the service, the plaintiff who was no. 3 but the only one to appear was held as a matter of law entitled to the appointment in *Jenkins v. Gronen*.<sup>2</sup> The appointing officer had refused to appoint him, insisting that two others should be certified from the eligible list. The court felt that the certification of three was not for the purpose of giving the officer a choice but to assure the appearance of at least one candidate.

ROBERT E. TRACY.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS

**The California Outlook Suspends.**—With its January issue the *California Outlook* suspended publication. Most readers of this periodical will remember that it was the successor of two weekly periodicals—the *Pacific Outlook*, published in Los Angeles, and the *California Weekly*, published in San Francisco—established to forward the propaganda of the reform movement that resulted in the political revolution in California under Hiram Johnson. These periodicals were not organized for profit, and no one of them was at any time a financial success; in fact their publication was made possible only through contributions both of time and money from men and women unselfishly interested in the cause. In announcing the suspension the editor said:

"The time has come when for several reasons it does not seem advisable to continue publication:

"In the first place, the main purpose for the establishment of this periodical has been accomplished. Political autocracy has been overthrown and democratic government firmly established in California. No general reaction seems at this time possible.

"Moreover, the prevailing policy of the great majority of the newspapers of the state has gradually changed, so that now progressive propaganda does not lack adequate newspaper expression.

"It does not therefore seem either nec-

essary or fair further to burden those upon whom the responsibility for the publication has devolved. . . .

"It has therefore seemed appropriate to arrange with Chester H. Rowell's paper, the *Fresno Republican*, to send its weekly edition to our subscribers for their unexpired subscriptions. In that way our subscribers may keep in touch with the most virile expression of the forward movement in this state. . . .

"We assure them that if ever conditions in this state seem again to demand such action, the publishers will not hesitate to revive the publication in order to lend their aid to the holding of California at her rightful place at the head of the column of progressive commonwealths."

✱

**Meeting of the American City Planning Institute.**—In New York on Saturday, November 24, 1917, there was held the first meeting of the American City Planning Institute to consider the zoning or districting of cities. In addition to the members from the city of New York, sixty representatives from other cities were present. The zoning commissions of Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cambridge, Mass., and Newark, N. J., were interested and active participants.

The morning session was devoted largely to considering New York's experience with its zoning law. Edward M. Bassett, who presided, went very thoroughly into the

<sup>1</sup> 164 N. W. 62.

<sup>2</sup> 167 Pac. 917.

procedure of New York zoning and made comments relative to the various problems which the commission had encountered and the success which had attended their solution.

Dr. Robert H. Whitten, secretary of the committee on city plan of the board of estimate and apportionment, spoke on "Use District Classification." He spoke of the growing sentiment in American cities demanding protection of the homes of the people against encroachment of business and industries, and particularly the sentiment which had been aroused in New York protesting against the encroachment of a classified business district by certain industries. Relative to housing, he spoke of the methods by which the prevention of mutually antagonistic types of residential use and the prevention of congestion of population might be approached, which he mentioned as being either by the direct limitation of the type of dwelling, by the limitation of the number of houses or families per acre, or the limitations of the percentage of the lot that may be covered and the size of courts and yards. The advantages and disadvantages of these methods were dwelt upon and examples of the procedure in England and certain parts of the United States were illustrated. Business districts and unrestricted districts were dwelt upon and the vital subject of garages carefully discussed.

The evening session opened with the reading of a paper by B. A. Haldeman, entitled "Philadelphia Zoning," in which the progress of the recently appointed zoning commission of that city was explained. The height districts, use districts and area districts were all dwelt upon in turn and the differences between the application of regulations in Philadelphia and in New York were demonstrated. Comment was made on the ordinance prepared by the commissioners of Fairmount park regulating the location, size and use of buildings on the parkway from city hall to Fairmount park and doubt was expressed as to whether these regulations would survive a test of the courts, which would be most unfortunate for zoning not

only in Philadelphia but in general, if they should not.

One of the best suggestions was advanced by Mr. Haldeman, advisory engineer to the zoning commission of Philadelphia who, after pointing out the confusion and doubt which would result in the minds of the public and the courts from the present practice of each community devising a different scheme of classification and emphasizing the great need of some uniformity of practice, suggested that a committee of the Institute be appointed to devise uniform methods of grouping—with definite reasons for the organization of each group—and a standard system of definitions in order that the courts in ruling upon any question would have its application of such ruling extended to the regulations of all cities. This suggestion for uniformity in regulations was received with general approval and steps were taken to form such a committee.

WILLIAM C. STANTON.<sup>1</sup>

✱

**American Political Science Association Meeting.**—The Philadelphia meeting of the American Political Science Association held during holiday week was an interesting occasion, but the subjects of city, county and state government were practically untouched. At one session the question of the relation of political science to other sciences and its relation to actual government was considered. The subjects of instruction in political science and training schools were also on the program. There was also an incidental discussion of democracy in some of its general phases.

✱

**Municipalities and States Co-operate to Fight Cameron Septic Tank Patents.**—The National Septic Tank Protective Process League, an organization formed to resist the collection of royalties under a patent granted on October 3, 1899, to Donald Cameron and others, of England, has undertaken by its attorney, Wallace R. Lane, of Chicago, to defend a suit brought against Shelbyville, Kentucky, by the Cameron Septic Tank Company of Chi-

<sup>1</sup>Secretary, Philadelphia committee on comprehensive plans.

cago. The company claims royalties up to October 3, 1916, from all users of septic tanks, whether of the original one-story or the later two-story (Imhoff) type, who have not already settled with it.

Mr. Lane contends that the United States patent expired with the British patent on November 8, 1909. In a case brought some years ago against Knoxville, Iowa, it was stipulated that, for the purpose of that suit, the English and American patents were identical, and in that case the supreme court held that the American patent had expired November 8, 1909. The Cameron Septic Tank Company now claims that the English and American patent are not identical, and that therefore the American patent runs for seventeen years from October 3, 1899.

The National Septic Process Protective League is a voluntary association of interested cities and towns, and it asks the co-operation and financial support of every municipality in the country that would be affected by the outcome of the Shelbyville suit. Dr. H. M. Bracken, the executive officer of the state board of health of Minnesota, is the president of the league, and Frank G. Pierce, secretary of the league of Iowa municipalities, Marshalltown, Iowa, is the secretary.

Years ago the process claims of the patent were upheld, but the apparatus claims were denied by the United States supreme court in a suit brought against Saratoga Springs. So far as can be learned, the company has never pressed for a determination of the royalties in this case. In like manner, it started and then refrained from pressing a suit against the United States. Hundreds of cities, including many of considerable size, are using septic tanks. In the few known instances where suits have been brought the defendants have been places of a few thousand population.

FRANK G. PIERCE.



The Arkansas Municipal League, an organization of city officials, is interested in laying before members of the constitutional convention in that state the facts concerning the provisions in the present constitu-

tion having reference to the financing of municipalities and general municipal improvements. The convention has adjourned until July, but several matters have been referred to committees and the members of the municipal league are seeking opportunity to lay the facts concerning them before the committee on cities and towns. It is believed by officials of the league that the new constitution when written will contain provision for sane and careful financing of cities and towns and for issuing of interest bearing evidence of indebtedness under thorough restrictions and ample safeguards.



The Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research, established about five years ago, has been discontinued for lack of funds. The board of directors found that owing to manifold financial appeals at the present time it would be unwise to undertake a money-raising campaign to keep the bureau in operation. Fortunately the purpose for which the bureau was established has been largely accomplished. The local city government under the commission-manager plan is conducting the affairs of the city with such a degree of efficiency that the demand for the bureau is not as imperative as it was a few years ago.

Chester E. Rightor, who succeeded Dr. L. D. Upson as director of the Dayton bureau of municipal research,<sup>1</sup> has taken up work with the federal bureau of efficiency at Washington, D. C. Walter M. Matscheck is now secretary of the department of civics of the Kansas City chamber of commerce. In this position his duties will be similar to those in the Dayton bureau. C. B. Greene, formerly the publicity man of the bureau, has become associated with the National Cash Register Company as its publicity manager.



Mitchel Officials as City Managers.—One of the big by-products, if one may term it such, of the administration of Mayor Mitchel in New York was the successful training of a very considerable

<sup>1</sup>See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vi, p. 707.



number of men in public service. Tammany's unwillingness to continue men of this type in office has made these men available for civic positions throughout the country. A number of them we are persuaded would make excellent city managers. Those who would be interested in learning more about these men and their capacities can secure information by writing to the secretary of the National Municipal League, 703, North American Building, Philadelphia.

✱

Lawson Purdy, president of the National Municipal League, and for twelve years president of the board of tax commissioners, New York city (under the administrations of Mayors McClellan, Gaynor and Mitchel) has been elected directing head of the charities organization society of New York city.

Mr. Purdy has been serving as chairman of a local exemption board in New York city. His work has been of such value to the men that have come before him that they have presented a testimonial of thanks to him. In commenting on the presentation of this testimonial the Rev. Milo Hudson Gates, vicar of the Chapel of Intercession in New York city, wrote a public letter as follows:

"The presentation of a testimonial to the Hon. Lawson Purdy was a hopeful sign, showing that republics are not always ungrateful. Such an occasion deserves something more than passing notice. . . . Every man who has come before Mr. Purdy's board . . . inscribed his name in a book which contains resolutions stating how deeply they have been moved by Mr. Purdy's influence, his sympathy, his tact and his unfailing enthusiasm for America. It is a great event in any man's life when hundreds of people who have been 'drafted' by him feel that he has done them a favor and not an injury, and look upon him as an advisor and as some of the boys said, a second father.

"Those who know Mr. Purdy will understand this, for as one speaker truly said—'Mr. Purdy has been doing these things for this city all his life, and whenever and wherever the city has needed a just, honest,

clear-visioned, and patriotic man to do her piece of work, she has called Lawson Purdy, and never found him wanting.'"

✱

Charles Mulford Robinson, the well-known city designer and author, and a regular contributor to the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW*, died after a brief illness on Sunday, December 30, 1917. Mr. Robinson's several books, "The Improvement of Towns and Cities," "Modern Civic Art," "The Call of the City," "The Width and Arrangement of Streets," and "City Planning" achieved a distinct place in the growing literature on this subject, and gave him a position of authority in the city planning movement. As a specialist in municipal aesthetics and town planning, he made plans for the beautification and improvement of a number of cities, including Denver, Colorado Springs, Oakland, Honolulu, Los Angeles, and Fort Wayne. For five years past he has contributed an annual review of city planning reports, which has been one of the distinctive features of the *Review*. All his life he was an earnest and acute civic worker, and his notable literary style made his productions not only valuable by reason of his knowledge and interest, but delightful in themselves.

Concerning Mr. Robinson's contribution to the modern municipal movement, *The Survey* declared him to be "a courageous municipal reformer, a true democrat and withal a most lovable character. His approach to civic development originally was that of civic aesthetics, and his first work, 'The Improvement of Towns and Cities,' opened up to architects the world over a new vision of public usefulness. In his later years he became more and more absorbed in the technical and administrative problems of city building, and both in his books and in practical application contributed solutions of far-reaching importance."

✱

Dr. Henry M. Leipziger.—Systems of free public lectures maintained by public school authorities now found in most important American cities were originated

in New York City in 1889, by Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, who died on December 1, 1917. Dr. Leipziger was born in Manchester, England, in 1854. Educated in the public schools and in the College of the City of New York, Dr. Leipziger became deeply interested in the problem of assimilating the immigrant population and was one of the first to advocate industrial education in the public schools. He was instrumental in organizing the Hebrew Technical Institute which was the first public manual training school in the city of New York. As a result of his contact with the problem, Dr. Leipziger early began to advocate the "wider use" of the school-house, and as an outgrowth of this interest he conceived the idea of free lectures as part of the public school system. When the idea was adopted he was at once put in charge of the lectures and since 1890 he had been supervisor of lectures, building up by his energy, ability and enthusiasm a vast and far-reaching system of free popular lectures for the education of adults.

✱

Captain Jesse D. Burks, U. S. A.—The long fight against Jesse D. Burks, efficiency director of Los Angeles, culminated in a resolution by the city council abolishing the efficiency commission and in the dismissal of the director by the mayor. There was considerable talk of contesting the matter further and of an appeal by Mr. Burks to the civil service commission, but the issue was settled when he accepted a commission as captain in the Officers' Reserve Corps, with the assignment to active duty in the ordnance department. A public reception was given to Captain and Mrs. Burks at the University club on the evening of December 27, after which he left for Washington to assume his duties.

Concerning his work as efficiency director, the *California Outlook* said: "Mr. (now Captain) Burks rendered invaluable service to the city of Los Angeles. From the beginning, however, he met with opposition, and this opposition finally developed a sufficient strength to force his removal. He leaves behind him an unimpeachable record, and he carries with

him to his new post of honor the respect and confidence of a host of well-wishers."

✱

Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, one of the vice-presidents of the National Municipal League, has been made director of the bureau of social hygiene founded by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., at her suggestion in 1911. Dr. Davis at that time was superintendent of the state reformatory for women at Bedford Hills. The bureau established at Bedford Hills in connection with the state reformatory a laboratory of social hygiene under the direction of Dr. Davis. When the Fusion administration came into office on January 1, 1914, Mayor Mitchel appointed her commissioner of correction and when, some two years later, the parole commission was established, he selected her as its chairman at a salary of \$7,500 a year.

✱

John J. Murphy, commissioner in charge of the New York tenement house department under Mayors Gaynor and Mitchel, has been elected secretary of the tenement house committee of the New York charity organization society.

✱

William H. Maxwell, superintendent of school in New York city since 1898, and chairman of the National Municipal League's committee on instruction in municipal government in secondary and elementary schools for a number of years, has been made superintendent emeritus in view of his continued illness. His salary will be continued undiminished.

✱

Dr. Robert H. Whitten, after five years' work with the New York heights of buildings commission and as secretary of the committee on building districts and restrictions and the committee on city plan of the board of estimate and apportionment, has been relieved of his various offices by the Hyland administration. He has opened an office for consulting work on city planning and zoning at 277 Broadway, New York. Prior to his work on city planning, he was with the New York public service commission for the first district. Dr. Whitten recently



made a report for the United States shipping board on the housing and transportation conditions for shipyard workers in the yards adjacent to Newark bay.

✱

Seward C. Simons, secretary of the Los Angeles municipal league, has enlisted for active duty in the aviation service of the signal corps.

✱

Henry C. Wright, who was assistant director of the department of public charities under the Mitchel administration, has been appointed secretary *pro tem* of the New York charities state aid association in place of Homer Folk now absent in France directing the department of civil affairs of the American Red Cross.

✱

Robert Emmet Tracy, secretary of the Philadelphia bureau of municipal research, who has been contributing the notes on judicial decisions to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW since January, 1917, has been elected secretary of the recently organized bureau of government research in the Indianapolis chamber of commerce, assuming the duties of his office on February 15.

✱

C. A. Bingham, city manager of Norwood, Massachusetts, has been elected city manager of Waltham, Massachusetts, at a salary of \$5,000 a year.

✱

Leroy Hodges, director of the Petersburg, Virginia, bureau of municipal research, and a member of the Virginia efficiency commission, has been appointed secretary to Governor Westmoreland Davis of Virginia with the title of colonel. The appointment of Colonel Hodges was made wholly on merit and without regard for political affiliations, Mr. Hodges having voted at the primary for John Garland Pollard. This action of Governor Davis is taken as an indication of his desire to select men of a high type in the interests of the state and without regard to politics.

✱

Frank B. Williams, chairman of the New York city club's committee on city

planning, has been retained by the Akron, Ohio, chamber of commerce to prepare a report on the legal phases involved in the carrying out of the Akron city plan. He rendered a similar service last year to the Bridgeport planning project.

✱

Harrison Gray Otis, who has been the successful city manager of Beaufort, South Carolina, and is secretary of the City Managers' Association, has been chosen city manager of Auburn, Maine.<sup>1</sup> He entered upon his duties February 4.

✱

Richard C. Harrison has been elected secretary of the New York city club in succession to Robert S. Binkerd. Mr. Harrison is a graduate of Columbia University with the degrees of A.B., A.M., and LL.B. For three years he was assistant counsel of the public service commission of the first district, for two years an examiner on the executive staff of the president of the board of aldermen when Mayor Mitchel occupied that post, and for four years and a half has been deputy commissioner of the department of docks and ferries.

✱

Edmund R. Bates, who has been assistant purchasing agent of Dayton, Ohio, has been appointed to the head of the department to succeed Fowler S. Smith who has retired from office to assume other duties.

✱

Hornell Hart, formerly secretary of the Milwaukee city club, has resigned from the social unit organization and is now connected with the Helen Trounstone foundation of Cincinnati, as a research worker in sociological statistics.

✱

Porter R. Lee has been elected director of the New York school of philanthropy to succeed Dr. Edward T. Devine, whose duties as chief of the Red Cross bureau of refugees and home relief will keep him abroad indefinitely.

<sup>1</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. vii, p. 104.

## NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE COMMITTEES

1917-1918

### ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES

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Arthur E. Wood, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
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Dr. Birl E. Shultz, Chairman, 120 Broadway, New York City  
Camillus G. Kidder, 27 William Street, New York City  
Dr. L. S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia  
Prof. Charles A. Beard, 261 Broadway, New York City  
J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg, Pa.

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Prof. Herman G. James, University of Texas, Austin, Texas  
Miss Alice M. Holden, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.

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Oliver McClintock, Ellsworth & Amberson Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
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Pres. A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
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Prof. Charles A. Beard, 261 Broadway, New York City  
Ossian E. Carr, Niagara Falls, N. Y.  
Gaylord C. Cummin, Grand Rapids, Mich.

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(To be appointed)

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Samuel H. Ranck, Chairman, Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.  
Drew B. Hall, Somerville, Mass.  
John Cotton Dana, Public Library, Newark, N. J.  
Arthur E. Bostwick, Public Library, St. Louis, Mo.  
Harrison W. Craver, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa.



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Alfred Bettman, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio  
Jacob A. Harzfeld, Kansas City, Mo.  
Stiles P. Jones, Palace Building, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Prof. W. M. Leiserson, Toledo University, Toledo, Ohio  
George C. Sikes, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill.

## MUNICIPAL COURTS

Hon. Harry Olson, Chairman, Chicago, Ill.  
Wilfred Bolster, Boston, Mass.  
Herbert Harley, 10 S. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.  
Prof. Roscoe Pound, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Hon. W. A. Ransom, City Hall Park, New York City  
Thomas Raeburn White, West End Trust Building, Philadelphia

## MUNICIPAL INFORMATION

Dr. Charles C. Williamson, Chairman, Municipal Building, New York  
C. B. Lester, Madison, Wis.  
John A. Lapp, State House, Indianapolis, Ind.  
Dr. H. H. B. Meyer, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.  
Frederick Rex, City Hall, Chicago, Ill.  
Samuel H. Ranck, Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.  
Leo Tiefenthaler, Municipal Reference Library, Milwaukee, Wis.  
Joseph Wright, Widener Library, Cambridge, Mass.

## SOURCES OF REVENUE

Dr. Robert Murray Haig, Chairman, Columbia University, New York  
Dr. Roy G. Blakey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Prof. H. L. Lutz, Oberlin, Ohio  
Miss Mabel Newcomer, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York  
Dr. Arthur Young, Princeton, N. J.

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Harold S. Buttenheim, Tribune Building, New York City  
Frederick L. Hoffman, Newark, New Jersey  
Prof. Herman G. James, University of Texas, Austin, Texas  
Otto Kirchner, 100 Griswold Street, Detroit, Mich.

## AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

Dr. L. D. Upson, Chairman, 100 Griswold Street, Detroit, Mich.  
Mayo Fesler, Guardian Building, Cleveland, Ohio  
Charles W. Andrews, Syracuse, New York  
Robert Treat Paine, 16 State Street, Boston, Mass.  
Lieut. C. P. Shaw, Norfolk, Va.